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ABSTRACT

This volume is comprised of selected papers which were presented at a workshop sponsored by the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Part 1 of the volume presents an overview of the functional significance of social research in the black community. The four papers in this section deal with issues such as institutionalizing the setting of priorities for research in black colleges and universities and the conceptual and methodological limitations of present research on black people. Part 2 has several papers which examine black family life and the socialization process on the black community. In Part 3, papers review the relationship between the criminal justice system and the black community. In part 4, the papers are organized around human resource development and techniques for assessment of human as well as societal growth and development. (Author/JM)

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SOCIAL RESEARCH AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY:

SELECTED ISSUES AND PRIORITIES

Lawrence E. Gary, Editor

A selection of papers from a workshop on "Developing Research Priorities for the Black Community" held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., June 25-29, 1973.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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Foreword

The decision of the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research to sponsor a workshop on "Developing Research Priorities for the Black Community," stemmed from the recognition that Black social scientists must take a more active role in defining the research strategies for solving the problems of and developing the resources of the Black community. Traditionally, white scholars have provided the research input into social programs for Black communities. It is becoming increasingly clear that the social scientific basis for many governmental policies have produced ineffective social programs in many communities, especially those which are poor and Black in terms of their social and racial composition. Thus, Black social scientists must assume a greater responsibility for dispelling age-old myths and stereotypes of the Black community and must develop viable research plans for attacking problems which confront many Black communities. It is within this context that the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research at Howard planned its first summer workshop on selected research issues which impact on Black communities.

Five days during the summer of 1973, 70 individuals from 17 colleges and universities, governmental agencies and community organizations participated in this research workshop. The purpose of the workshop was not to arrive at definitive conclusions about social research in Black communities; rather, it was to provide an opportunity for bringing together a group of Black social science scholars and practitioners to exchange ideas. Through such interchange, it was hoped that new ideas about social research on the Black community would emerge and new and relevant research areas and topics might be put into sharper focus.

A secondary purpose of the workshop was to establish better lines of communications between Black researchers and practitioners as well as between Black universities and colleges and governmental and community agencies.

To facilitate the purposes of the workshop, several persons actively engaged in either social research or social practice were invited by the research planning committee of the Institute to prepare papers on selected topics. These papers were presented to the participants of the seminars and they were criticized, first, by a discussant and then by other invited participants. There was no attempt to reach a consensus on specific issues or to focus the deliberations on the issues raised in the papers. Consequently, discussion was of a free-wheeling nature and ranged far and wide. In general, one can conclude that the workshop brought to the surface many important issues that have serious implications for research on Black communities as well as strategies for developing the resources of these communities.

This volume attempts to make available to readers selected papers which were presented at the workshop. Part I presents an overview of the functional significance of social research in the Black community. The four papers in this section deal with issues such as institutionalizing and the setting of priorities for research in Black colleges and universities, and the conceptual and methodological limitations of present research on Black people. Part II has several papers which examine Black family life and the socialization process in the Black community. In Part III, there are several papers which review the relationship between the criminal justice system and the Black community. In the final section, Part IV, the papers are organized around human resource development and techniques for assessment of human as well as societal growth and development.

Grateful acknowledgements are made to members of the workshop planning committee: Eugene Beard, Eva Bell, Lee P. Brown, Anne Finney, Patricia Milligan, George McFarland, Lorraine Martin, Paul Milbourn, and Sharon Prather. These individuals rendered invaluable service in the advice, time and other resources they gave to the development and execution of this project. In addition, special attention is called to the assistance given by our secretarial staff: Myrna Cachola, Wanda Horne, Linda Adams, Sadie Smith, Carole Lewis and Jennifer Penn. Finally, a special word of appreciation is due Ms. Deloris Foskey for her editorial assistance in the final preparation of the manuscript.

Lawrence E. Gary

Washington, D.C.
April 1974

ERRATA

SOCIAL RESEARCH AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY: SELECTED ISSUES AND PRIORITIES

"CRIME AND SOCIAL POLICY: THE POLITICS OF RACE"

by

L. ALEX SWAN and LLOYD STREET

The article cited above, appearing on pages 112-119, contained incorrect footnote material. The correct footnotes are as follows:

1. Allen D. Grimshaw, "A Study in Social Violence: Urban Race Riots in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1959).
2. See Ira De Augustine Reid, *In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1940); James Edward McKeown, "Poverty, Race and Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 39 (November-December 1948), 480; Walter C. Reckless, *The Crime Problem* (2nd ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts Co., 1955), p. 37; Jessie Bernard, *Social Problems at Mid-Century* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 518; and Francis E. Merrill, *Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1957), p. 293.
3. See George L. Wilber, "The Scientific Adequacy of Criminological Concepts," *Social Forces*, 28 (December 1949), 165; Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Press, 1947), p. 18; Edwin H. Sutherland, "Is White Collar Crime Crime?" *American Sociological Review*, 10 (April 1945), 132; Edwin H. Sutherland, "Crime and Business," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 217 (September 1941), 112; and Thorsten Sellin, "The Basis of a Crime Index," *Journal of Criminology*, 22 (September 1931), 335.
4. Edward Green, "Race, Social Status, and Criminal Arrest," *American Sociological Review* 35 (June 1970), 476-490.
5. Junius L. Allison, "Poverty and the Administration of Justice in the Criminal Courts," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 55 (June 1964), 241-55.
6. Fred J. Murphy, Mary W. Shirley, and Helen L. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* (October 1946), 686-96.
7. Martin Gold, *Status Forces in Delinquent Boys*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1963).
8. Murphy et al., supra note 6; Sophia M. Robinson, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.)
9. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Albert L. Rhodes, "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in the Social Class Structure," *American Sociological Review* (October 1961), 720-32.

10. John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-Economic Class and Area As Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," *American Sociological Review* (December 1962), 826-34; Robert Dentler and Lawrence J. Monroe, "Early Adolescent Theft," *American Sociological Review* (October 1961), 733-43; Ivan E. Nye, *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior*, (New York: Wiley, 1958); Austin L. Porterfield and Stanley C. Clifton, *Youth in Trouble*, (Fort Worth, Texas: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946).

11. Clark and Wenninger, supra note 10.

12. Ralph N. Nutter, "The Quality of Justice in Misdemeanor Arraignment Courts, *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 53 (June 1962), 185-93.

13. Marshall B. Clinard, *Sociology of Deviant Behavior*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964) p. 159.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-93.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 493.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 550-551.

18. Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and Crime," in *Minority Problems*, edited by Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) pp. 291-92.

19. *Ibid.*

20. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 44.

21. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1963), p. 51.

22. The President's Commission, *Challenge of Crime*, p. 44-55.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

25. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Report of the Commission, *Task Force Reports: The Courts*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 151.

26. Frank E. Hartung, *Crime, Law and Society* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), p. 76.

27. Henry J. Abraham, *The Judiciary* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965).

Part I An Overview of Social Research in the Black Community

INSTITUTIONALIZING SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AT BLACK UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

by

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The Institute for Urban Affairs and Research at Howard University welcomes you to its first annual research workshop. It is our intention to have an annual gathering or retreat of Black social scientists and practitioners for the purpose of analyzing and discussing selected issues which affect the Black community. My presentation will be brief and it will cover the following: (1) new developments at the University relative to its outreach activities, (2) the objectives of the workshop, (3) the status and problem of social research at Black colleges, (4) a short description of the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, and (5) plans for the week.

In many ways, Howard is becoming a *Black* university. While it is true that we are still struggling with the definition of a Black university and its relationship to the Black liberation movement, there are significant signs that we are moving beyond the rhetoric stage. Everywhere one travels, there are comments about what Howard is or is not doing. It is very easy to criticize but it takes sweat and brains to provide a viable program for strengthening and redirecting the resources of this historic university. Over the past year, I have noticed some significant activities at the University which, if developed, will have profound impact on the American society. First, the University has established the Howard University Press. This is no plan! For I have met the director and some of his staff. It should be clear that a press at the country's largest Black university will help to disseminate relevant information not only to the Blacks, but also to the majority of the community.

The Board of Trustees has approved the establishment of an Institute for Drug Abuse. In addition, other units are being established, i.e., the Institute for the Arts and Humanities and the Institute for Child Development and Urban Family Life. All of these programs are at different stages of development, but it is clear that the University is slowly making some type of commitment to providing relevant services to *all* sectors of the Black and other communities.

This research workshop is intended to bring together a group of social science scholars and practitioners for an intensive examination of some research needs of the Black community. Hopefully, the participants will help the Institute in organizing its resources for servicing the community and in identifying research priorities for the Black community. Another objective of the workshop is to establish better lines of communication between Black social researchers and practitioners. We have invited representatives from the various departments on campus, from federal and local governmental agencies, from private social agencies, and from white and Black colleges and universities. We believe this mixture will generate new ideas and issues relative to the role of research in the development of viable Black communities.

Black Colleges and Social Research

To a large extent, urban problems are directly related to the concentration of Blacks in cities.[1] As many of you know. Blacks will form important majorities in at least fifty (50) large cities by 1980. Already Blacks form majorities in Washington, D.C.; Newark, New Jersey; Gary, Indiana; Atlanta, Georgia; and Richmond, Virginia. In fact, there are at least twenty-six (26) cities which have a Black population of one hundred thousand or more.[2] Although Black people make up twelve (12) percent of the total population, fifty-eight (58) percent of Blacks in this country live in central cities. However, the proportion of whites living in central cities is only twenty-eight (28) percent. In these communities, one can observe a multiplicity of problems such as inadequate health, meaningless education, malnutrition, crime and violence, bad housing and drug abuse. The urban Black community has been forced to develop a variety of mechanisms for coping with these problems and many social programs have been designed to deal specifically with these issues. However, there continue to be many social problems in Black communities.

Often we ignore the fact that in many urban communities, one can find Black colleges and universities. For example, in Washington, D.C., there is Howard University, Federal City College and D.C. Teachers College. In Baltimore, Maryland metropolitan area, there are Morgan State, Bowie State, and Coppin State Colleges. Fisk University, Tennessee State University and Meharry Medical College are located in Nashville, Tennessee. Finally, Atlanta, Georgia has five Black colleges and one university. The basic question is what roles are these institutions playing in dealing with problems which plague urban Black communities?

There have been many articles and studies on the role and function of the Black university or college.[3] Although white writers have been concerned with this issue, several Black intellectuals have attempted to address this question from the perspective of the developmental needs of the Black community. Unfortunately, many of the proposals advanced by these writers have been unrealistic in the sense that they cannot be implemented given the political realities in both white and Black communities. Moreover, few proposals have dealt with the importance of social research in the operation of Black colleges.

If the Black college is to survive in the academic struggle for relevance, it must relate to the concerns and needs of the Black community; it must look for new models for apportioning the proper mixture of research, education, and service functions of the university. James E. Cheek, President of Howard University, is aware of the challenge facing urban universities and colleges. He stated:[4]

> Society must depend upon its institutions not only to provide the ingredients for social stability, but also the direction for social change. Educational instituions, and particularly institutions of higher learning in our society, inescapably become the meeting ground where the issues of social value and social change come together.
>
> Precisely because the "urban crisis" and the "racial crisis" interlock, colleges and universities which have historically opened their mission and purpose and directed their resources and efforts with reference to the problems related to case cannot escape their responsibility to address themselves determinedly to the crisis of the cities.
>
> The health of civilized society is dependent upon the health of its cities; a modern technology and industrial society such as ours cannot maintain its strength if its cities decay. The decay of the cities can become the decay of the nation.
>
> This University views keenly its responsibilities as it relates to this problem and must now bring the difficult but possible task of preparing itself to develop the new knowledge, the new technology, and to train the social scientists and social technologists to define the problems but also to develop the solutions.

The above assertion suggests that Black colleges must develop new and innovative programs—in research education and services—which speak specifically to the emerging needs of the Black community.

In general one of the gross neglects of Black colleges and universities has been in the area of research.[4] Although they have contributed much in the field of teaching disadvantaged Blacks, there has been a failure of these schools, for the most part, to carry out definitive social research. Notable exceptions include Atlanta University, Fisk and Howard under the guidance of particular individuals such as W.E.B. Dubois, Charles S. Johnson and E. Franklin Frazier.

This failure of Black colleges has created several problems. First, in the absence of Black social scientists conducting meaningful research on problems of the Black community, the task has been left in the hands of white researchers and writers. Unfortunately, much of the research by these researchers has tended to focus on pathology or weaknesses rather than the positives or strengths of the Black community. Moreover, these researchers have produced concepts such as cultural deprivation, genetic determinism, self-hatred, and the inadequate mother thesis which has served the theoretical foundations for social programs in the Black community. Over the past several years, there has been a significant shift in the political climate in this country relative to the support of social programs designed to broaden opportunities for disadvantaged groups in our society. Leading white intellectuals such as Jensen, Herrnstein, Jencks and Banfield have advanced arguments which question the utility of compensatory programs for helping the poor, especially Black people, to improve their conditions.[6] It is becoming increasingly clear that there is a close relationship between social science research and social policies and programs.

Undoubtedly, more and more white professionals will turn their research efforts to the massive social, political and economic problems confronting the Black community. As more and more scientists give attention to these problems, it becomes evident that Black social scientists must undertake a large responsibility in this effort. The Black social scientists have an important role to play in the surge toward self-determination and the development of innovative intervention strategies for implementing the goals of the movement. However, Black social scientists must raise certain questions concerning the conceptual, ethical and methodological basis of behavioral science and its applications to the Black community. In several Black colleges, Black as well as white scholars are beginning to develop new theories, hypotheses, methodologies and concepts concerning the AfroAmerican experience.[7]

However, an *organizational mechanism* is necessary for facilitating exchanges among those scholars and providing support staff for their research and demonstration projects.

By not being able to engage in social research at many Black colleges, the Black educators and students have been deprived of a vital area of academic training. Academicians need the experiences afforded by research to enrich their work in the same sense that students need the opportunity to learn basic research techniques in order to become competent in their respective fields of study. Moreover, there is a shortage of Blacks trained in research methodology especially in those areas which place emphasis on quantitative analysis. Most social science departments at Black schools have not given proper attention to research methodology and social statistics. To some extent, Black professors at these colleges have not emphasized training in these areas because they do not have the competencies to teach in them. As these schools develop their graduate offerings, especially doctoral programs, they must give more attention to social research and statistics. It is important for Black graduate students in the social sciences to have the opportunity to participate in meaningful research projects as part of their educational experience. Therefore, there is a need to institutionalize the social research effort at Black schools with graduate programs.

Black colleges will improve their chances of recruiting top level Black professors from white universities if they develop an organizational mechanism for social research. Often the question of research opportunities will be raised when trying to recruit competent faculty members. In some cases, these potential faculty members have research grants that they would like to take as they move to other universities or colleges. This suggests that Black schools must have the organizational arrangement for accommodating them.

As suggested earlier, a few individuals at Black colleges have been involved in some social research in a variety of areas of Black life and culture. For the most part, the tradition of independent scholarships has been carefully guarded and generally the administration at these schools have not managed these activities. Some projects have been short-term and others have continued over several years. Two or more faculty members have joined as co-investigators in some projects, while most have been one-man ventures in which only a few research assistants and technical personnel have been hired (employed). Exclusive reliance on this format has presented several limitations now clearly recognized by some faculty members at these colleges. It has impeded the recruitment and retention of a cadre of technical personnel, since project budget periods have been both overlapping and discontinuous and smaller projects requiring certain types of expertise only on a part-time basis are disadvantaged in the research labor market. The administrative cost of handling small projects are, of course, disproportionately high for all parties. More serious are the constraints on fully developing the potentials of research studies for demonstration, training and governmental programs.

We have briefly identified selected issues which condition the social research efforts at Black colleges. There are other issues such as (1) the need to emphasize interdisciplinary research programs, (2) teaching load and its relationship to research activity, (3) the research training needs of Black faculty, (4) problems of coordination of limited resources, and (5) administrative support for research effort. Black colleges can no longer ignore the importance of social research in terms of developing quality graduate programs and providing relevant services to the Black community. To accomplish these goals, Black colleges must create an an institutional means for strengthening social science research activities.

The Institute for Urban Affairs and Research at Howard

Recognizing the functional significance of social research, and after two years of planning on the part of the administration, faculty, and student body, on June 2, 1972, the Board of Trustees passed a resolution calling for the establishment of the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research.[8] During the 1972/73 school year, our major efforts have been recruiting staff, developing the administrative process, evaluating on-going programs, planning for the 1973/74 school year and writing proposals for submission to private and public agencies for funding. It should be noted that the Institute is an outgrowth of the Center for Community Studies which was started at Howard in 1965. In many ways, the Institute has been established to deal with some of the issues discussed above.

The objectives of the Institute are:

1. To develop through research a relevant body of knowledge and theory concerning the behavior of the urban community.
2. To design and administer community development programs of a pilot or experimental nature, with the purpose of transferring these programs to more established units of the university once they have been developed, tested, and found useful.
3. To stimulate, encourage, support and coordinate research projects and programs in the behavioral sciences consistent with the rationale outlined in the previous pages.
4. To organize, sponsor, and conduct a series of colloquia, symposia, or seminars on topics which involve the application of behavioral science knowledge to problems affecting the Black community.
5. To publish at first a social science newsletter, and eventually a social

science journal for the dissemination of research findings, other scholarly works, and professional activities of interest to behavioral scientists.

6. To host informal gatherings of interest to resident and visiting social scientists and political leaders.
7. To provide professional and technical assistance to community groups, social agencies, and governmental bodies.
8. To develop innovative training models and curricula for practitioners who plan to work with oppressed minority communities.

To achieve the major objectives of the Institute, four basic divisions are contemplated. They are:

- *The Education Division* – University Without Walls and the Graduate Program in Urban Studies
- *The Services Division* – Upward Bound and the University Year for ACTION
- *The Development Division* – This is the planning arm of the Institute. It is also responsible for developing publications and workshops.
- *The Research Division* – The primary function of this division is to conduct meaningful social research. Basic and applied research will be a part of this division, but one must realize that the traditional distinction between basic and applied research may not be appropriate for our purposes. It is assumed that *research areas selected by the Institute will have both theoretical and practical implications.* Since it is possible for much of the data for basic research to come out of problem-solving services concerns—in this connection, it is conceivable that this division will be able to provide needed services to the community. Because of the scope of the disciplines and individual interests, a rigid rule that all research must have the problem-solving elements might have to be modified if we are to insure a certain level of creativity.

Defining an urban research agenda is a challenging task that requires a great deal of subjective judgment. The basic question is: What are the highest priority urban problems about which research should be undertaken? We anticipate conducting research in the following areas:

1. conflict resolution
2. learning and teaching
3. social organizations
4. labor and industrial relations
5. the utilization of scientific knowledge
6. population planning and control
7. manpower and development
8. urban transportation
9. the Black revolution
10. crime and delinquency
11. economic and political behavior
12. social intervention models
13. the mass media
14. individual and social values
15. social change
16. social policy and the Black community

Computer science and survey techniques will be an integral part of the research activities at the Institute. In this connection, it is the responsibility of this division to create an archive of multi-purpose data to serve a variety of research and training needs; to develop computer oriented systems of data management and information retrieval designed to maximize the utility of data; to develop training programs to enable Black scholars, students, and community people to increase their skills in using data; to provide professional and technical personnel to further these ends; and to support cooperative efforts in expanding the total set of resources. Finally, the division should disseminate research findings to the residents of the urban community, the academic community, and practitioners in the field.

Faculty publication of research reports in professional and technical journals often do not reach key audiences concerned with urban problems. The Institute would develop a series of reports and special publications designed to broaden the lines of communication between Howard University and the Black community, including other Black colleges and universities. It is feasible that this division will sell at cost a variety of manuals, teaching documents, and empirical studies which have been produced by the Institute and which are in high demand. Eventually, the Institute will be responsible for publishing a first rate journal which emphasizes policy and program implications of current research projects.

The Research Division of the Institute for Urban Studies and Research will be coordinated and administered by a *research coordinator*. A core permanent research staff will be an integral part of this division. In some cases, they will hold academic rank in the school of their special interest. Faculty members of the schools and colleges will supervise and coordinate research practicum for students. These faculty members may utilize the facilities of the Institute for their own research purposes. The research staff will consist of a research associate, a research assistant, research fellow.

We have discussed the plans for developing social research efforts at Howard. A basic question is whether the University will make the necessary budgetary commitment for these ideas to become a reality. We are very optimistic on this issue.

Conclusion

We expect the participants to give us additional suggestions on how to structure the Institute. Since we are just getting started, we need your support and assistance. Already we are getting requests for basic information on Black people in the following areas: (1) compensatory programs for Black students in higher education, (2) assessment of parental involvement in educational programs, (3) status of Blacks in the professions, (4) impact of revenue sharing, (5) health maintenance organization, and (6) a data bank on research by Black scholars. Of course, presently, we are not in a position to provide information in these areas. In the near future, the Institute must be able to provide needed information to individuals and organizations of our community. What is implied is the need to establish a reliable Black data bank. Some of you will have specific suggestions in this area.

This workshop does not pretend to cover all of the relevant research topics. Remember, this is the first in a series of annual (and periodic) workshops on social research in the Black community. The agenda for this conference includes the following:

- An Overview of Social Science Research in the Black Community: Theoretical, Organizational and Political Assessments
- The Core of Black Community Life: The Family and Its Correlates
- The Criminal Justice System and the Black Community: Academic and Practical Perspectives
- Issues and Assessments in Human Resources Development

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PRIORITIES FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH IN A BLACK UNIVERSITY

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In considering some priorities for social research in a Black university, some definitional statements are in order at the outset. First, what is a Black university? In my view, a Black university is a gathering of people and resources structured so as to make major contributions to the generation, preservation and dissemination of knowledge. Not just any knowledge, but knowledge of, by, and for Black people. A Black university, then, may be and do a variety of things, but it must have at the heart of its mission the interests, the needs, the problems, the contributions and the potentials of peoples of African descent.

A university, thus, is a cultural as well as a social institution. It grows out of, and feeds into the value system, the styles of life, the ways of life, and the historical conditions of a particular people. All universities are particular in this sense. There are those in American higher education who would pretend that education is beyond culture, is somehow universal—that it is non-provincial. Some people say this out of ignorance because they don't know any better. They have been taught in white universities that have miseducated them and so they think that they have somehow been exposed to something that is universal. Others really know better and they know how provincial and how culture-bound American universities are, but they don't tell anybody. They try to hide it. They keep this knowledge from their children, from their families, from their students and even from themselves. I am often amazed, for example, when I talk to colleagues of mine, white social scientists and other professors who work in other universities—white universities—how little they tell their children, their wives, and their families and friends about what they're doing at the universities. So people in the community have this conception that the university is a major instrument of democracy, equalitarianism, of human values, and they get a very distorted picture partly because those on the inside who know don't tell them.

It can be readily seen, then, that according to my conception of a university, social research is indispensable if the university is to carry out its mission successfully. To the extent that research is the systematic search for knowledge, and to the extent that social research focuses on systematic patterns of association and relationship among the various aspects of the human condition, it becomes clear what the priorities are for social research in a Black university.

First, the task of social research is to raise the complex questions: what do we know about Black people; what more needs to be known; and what can we find out in our time with the tools available to us? Then we must set about answering those questions. That, as I see it, is our first priority in social research. Such knowledge must be generated in a variety of areas of life, utilizing a variety of tools and styles of research from a variety of disciplines. But no area of life is more critical for re-examination by social research than the area of education.

What do we know about the education of Black people? We know, of course, that it is terribly important in the view of the masses of Black people that they and their children be more effectively educated. We know, also, that the education of Black people is badly mismanaged due mainly to the fact that it is in the hands of the wrong people, and it has not been designed with the needs of Black people in mind. It has not been designed either by or for Black people. And it certainly does not tell us much about ourselves. In social research we have at this time an unprecedented opportunity to delve into the nature of our education from preschool through advanced education in the universities and beyond. We have an opportunity to systematically search out those factors which contribute toward our effective education in order that we might teach ourselves better, and perhaps teach others how to help us in the process.

Any research must be guided by assumptions. These assumptions should be made explicit at the outset of the research. In the field of education, one assumption which seems indispensable to me is the assumption that knowledge proceeds from the known to the unknown. You cannot teach a child or an adult about the complexities of the world of ideas and things and the relationship between them unless it is done within the context of what he already knows. Thus, new knowledge, in order to be effectively mastered, must be built upon existing knowledge. We cannot teach ourselves effectively as Black people by ignoring all of our past and contemporary realities and pretending that we stand on the same ground with others. Carter G. Woodson said in 1933 that, "To educate the Negro we must find out exactly what his background is, what he is today, what his possibilities are, and how to begin with him as he is and make him a better individual of the kind that he is . . . " He continues, "Instead of cramming the Negro's mind with what others have shown that they can do, we should develop his latent powers that he may perform in society a part of which others are not capable."[1]

Those of us in contemporary education and social science have been so eager to establish that we are equal to other people and, indeed, are exactly the same as other people in all essential things that we have ignored the nature of our own complex history, and our own reality, and have ignored the sources of our own distinctiveness. Thus, in the process of establishing that we are equal to others we have failed to sufficiently exploit the sources of our superiority. In any forum in education today on the question of race particularly, two questions are likely to dominate the agenda: (1) Are Black people really inferior to white people? and (2) How can we demonstrate that Black people are equal to white people in learning styles, ability, interests, habits, tastes and all other essentials? A third question never placed on the table is this: (3) To what extent are Black people superior to others in essential capacities, propensities, interests and abilities? The failure to place this question on the agenda grows out of our failure as Black social scientists and educators to explore that question sufficiently and systematically. Perhaps, as in so many other areas which affect us, we are waiting for other scholars to pose the question for us so that then we can be convinced of its legitimacy. Then we can either denounce the other scholars or get on the bandwagon under their leadership. The Black scholar theologian, philosopher and educator, Alexander Crummel, writing in the mid-nenteenth century, asserted boldly that, "Black people are gifted with vitality, humility, patience, endurance, religious susceptibility, hope, plasticity and imitativeness."

Otey Scruggs reminds us that "All these characteristics, of course, whites had already attributed to black people," but Crummel brought to them his own interpretation, attempting thereby to encourage a sense of race pride. For example, he asserted that the "quality of imitation" instead of reflecting as some people said a lack of originality, has led Black people to elevation, for "the Negro," Crummel argued, "with a mobile and plastic nature, with a strong receptive faculty, seizes upon and makes over to himself, by imitation, the better qualities of others."[2]

In modern times, we scholars are much more reactionary. We tend to wait until some white scholar makes a pronouncement about us and our nature, and then we rush into print reacting and denouncing and denying whatever is said. If he says that we are inferior to white people, we say it isn't so, we are equal. If he says that we are superior to white people in our ability to sing and dance, we say it is not so, we are only equal to white people. And, if he says nothing about us, our abilities and potential, we attack him in his conventions for ignoring us and for not describing us and demand that he pay attention to us. We are a reactive bunch in Black education and social science today. We have strayed far from the more creative insights and work of Black scholars of the past who sought to blaze new trails in the generation, preservation and dissemination of knowledge about Black people.

According to Crummel, for example, the "peculiarities" of Black people also include "indigenous religious and artistic styles, a deeper feeling of family particularly among Black women," and what he called a "redemptive quality of suffering." And finally, he thought Black people held a repository for what he called the "messianic idea." In other words, Crummel agreed with his close contemporary and colleague, Edward Wilmot Blyden who said of Black people, "We are inferior to none, equal to any, and superior to many." In education and social science today, we have given considerable attention to the question of our equality. It is time, I suggest, that we turn our considerable talent and resources to explorations of the question of our superiority. For in every city and hamlet in the country and in the rural countryside as well, Black children are being miseducated. They are miseducated in the public schools, in the public media, and by their friends and associates as well, in large measure because we in education and social science have failed to design for them a system of education based on their true nature and their true potential and experience in the world. I suggest that if we can manage to effectively educate these young Black warriors they will be able to lead our people, and indeed the nation as a whole, toward new levels of humanity unattainable through modern educational programs.

It is not, however, only in the lower grades that social science research can lead us to new levels of knowledge about the education of Black people. The need and the opportunity exist as well and perhaps even more critically in the realms of higher education. Social research in a Black university should certainly give priority to the nature of university education of, by and for Black people. The framework for this task has already been laid out for us by scholars such as Crummel, Woodson, DuBois and Kelly Miller, that mathematician turned sociologist, former colleague of Dr. Inabel Lindsay, and long-time professor at Howard who was called during his day, "the Bard of the Potomac." In 1925, Alain Locke wrote a book called, *The New Negro,* which contained an essay by Professor Miller calling for the establishment of a National Black University. He observed:

> The Negro in America constitutes a community far more separate and distinct in needs, aims, and aspirations than any other radical or sectarian element of our national life. The Catholic, Jewish and Protestant denominations develop their own local and national institutions to foster the peculiar genius and aspirations of their several communions, apart from the general educational life of the nation as a whole, in which they share on equal terms with the rest. In a much deeper sense, under the present conditions of his group life, does the Negro stand in need of local schools and colleges with a national university as a capstone devoted to racial aims and objectives.[3]

Professor Miller visualized Howard University as fulfilling this strategic role as a national Black university. We have not done that. We have made valiant strides over the years, but they have been halting steps circumscribed by our own limitations of vision and the limited opportunities and resources available to us in the past. In my view, we are now in a position to fulfill that mission. We have the resources; we have the opportunity available to us; we have the talent; and we are surrounded by areas for research and knowledge crying out to be explored. At universities such as Howard with ten thousand of the most gifted Black scholars from all parts of the world, with a community lying around our very doors begging to be understood and described, and with resources of the world's capital at our doorstep, we have an unprecedented opportunity to explore the nature of these complex realities as they impact on the lives of Black people, and establish a new knowledge base, a new discipline, a new and more useful Black university. We are not alone in having these resources. In a sense, every one of the one hundred and fifteen or so Black colleges and universities has a multiplicity of resources for Black research that no other institution can claim, whatever its technology. We have not developed these resources to their fullest, partly because we have not had the resources and partly because we have not had manpower, but mainly because we have not had the vision and the commitment to attack these problems. I maintain that we have the resources today. Surely we don't have quite as much office space as we would like; surely we don't have quite as much money as we need or as many research assistants as we would like, but surely we have the minds, the brains, the time, the encouragement and the atmosphere to do the basic work that will acquire for us additional resources to do even greater work. I think the time is now for us to make great strides in building that kind of useful university. The key, I think, is whether social scientists like yourselves at this conference will provide the leadership for knowledge building of, by and for Black people.

If the development of effective education for our children is the first priority for social science research, and the second priority is to help us develop a more effective linkage between and among the conditions facing all oppressed peoples in this land and elsewhere, we cannot allow ourselves to be provincial as other people have been. We must reach out and see our connectedness with other oppressed people particularly. What social scientists need to help us do is learn about the experience of the Hispanic peoples in the Southwest, and in New York and Washington, and the Asian peoples in the West and in New York and Washington, and the native American peoples on the reservations and in the cities and the other oppressed people, in order to generate a knowledge base on which we can develop a more comprehensive pedagogy of the oppressed. We need a pedagogy of the oppressed. We do not yet have it. Paulo Freire made a brilliant contribution to such an effort. In his book by the same title, he has reminded us of what he calls a very simple truth, that, "just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressed, in order to become free, also need a theory of action."[4]

In my view, then, we must move from one level of reality beginning with ourselves and our experience to the level of reality faced by other people who are oppressed and then, finally, we must allocate some of our major resources and talents for inquiring into the nature of the reality faced by the oppressor himself. We cannot afford to abandon all studies of the oppressor to the oppressor, for we know the disadvantages of doing that. We must turn the searchlight of our own intelligence, our own imagination, and our own resources on the conditions which oppress us, on the people who oppress us, the nature of their values, the nature of their families and the nature of their institutions. As we understand ourselves better, as we understand our fellow oppressed peoples better, we will also understand the oppressor better; and then, out of that, we can develop a set of theories, a set of research strategies that will enable us to become here and elsewhere at Black universities, major centers of Black education and major collections of people and resources committed to exploring and pushing back the frontiers of ignorance and developing new bases of knowledge about ourselves. Then we can describe the conditions under which we have survived. The conditions under which we, as a people, can be able to use the genius that is within us, to develop a new kind of education, training and development so that utilizing all the resources available to this nation, led by the insights developed out of our own experience, we may develop a new possibility for human existence in this land.

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THEORY AND METHOD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: REFLECTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT *OF AN IDEOLOGY*

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It was only after the Black street rebellions of the 1960's that we began to accept the fact that much of social science, especially about the cities, has been a form of political conditioning. It was only after the events of the street action by the Black working class that even the Black and White scholars began to admit that much of social science is about rationalizing the world of reality around us. We were trained not to question this reality, but to describe it. We made a somewhat crude association between reality and science. Science, we were told is about describing social reality, thus reality is simply a question of accurate reporting. Therefore, we developed cannons of logic and a variety of techniques to undertake the massive task of description. It should be noted that modern social science is not naive enough to engage in crude empiricism, but borrowing from logical positivism, it concerned itself with analytical propositions. What was so impressive about this vast literature is that it did not engage in what we have now come to accept as one of the most fundamental insights about social science inquiry, namely that:

> "All science would be superstition if outward appearance and the *essence* of things directly coincided."

We have, for example, spent a great deal of our energy describing the outward appearance of our cities, their governmental forms, population movements, and indeed details about their attitudes towards the President, the mother and the local whore. It became clear in the 1960's, that we were unable to understand the essence of the Black working class' act of destroying the streets. Secondly, we have had volumes of literature published on the nature and ways of the Orientals; the Christian missionaries followed by extensive studies undertaken by the universities on behalf of the CIA have flooded the libraries concerning the Vietnamese. In spite of twenty years of study, we have yet to understand how these "backward" Orientals have defeated two of Western civilizations major military machines (France and the United States). Our understanding of these two events shows in a most dramatic form the inability of conventional social science to explain the major events of our time. The Black rebellions of the 1960's have created a serious crisis for domestic politics in the United States, and the Vietnamese victory has transformed world politics.

Since this conference is about establishing priorities for research on behalf of the oppressed people of the United States, namely the Black populations, we shall in this context identify some of the weaknesses of past research and try to identify research prospects that will lead us to discover the essence of social reality.

In the fall of 1956, as a naive graduate student, I entered the massive complexity of Detroit to interview Black precinct leaders as well as Black voters in what was then known as the Thirteenth Congressional District. The question that emerged at that time and continued to plague me for twenty years is what extent have the social sciences contributed to the continued subjugation of the oppressed. Or, is it possible for the social sciences to make a contribution for the liberation of the oppressed? It was clear then and remains clear now to those who designed the Detroit Area Study (DAS), a subunit of the Institute for Social Research (ISR), that such questions were in the realm of philosophy and morals. Thus, they dismissed both questions concluding that social science is neither repressive nor free. It is a neutral eunuch; it could serve Satan as well as Jesus. Therefore, we were taught that there is a distinction between fact and value, between normative and scientific theory. A whole generation of intellectual eunuchs were trained at the great American universities, trained with a notion that there is a distinction between science and policy, but most of all, between theory and practice. The practitioners were told to go to the School of Social Work, and the theorists stayed in the conventional Departments of Psychology, Sociology, and Political Science. The hard sciences then developed a methodology which, it was argued, would become the test of entry into the profession. A whole generation was told to study science. Science simply meant, in many cases, a knowledge of calculus and some elementary statistics. Thus the process of mystification has its roots in the use of a specific language—the language of mathematics and statistics. In fact, an elementary association had been made between language and science. Throughout the '60's, graduate students dropped the language requirements of German and French and insisted on new tool requirements. Statistics, non-parametric skills, and computer science were all part of the new ideology of social science. The major intellectual question for political science, at least, was to measure the coattail impact of presidential candidates. Thus, elementary propositions are sanctified as scientific discoveries and in all the social sciences a new breed of technicians emerged. They dominated faculties, foundations, and government officialdoms. They created an orthodoxy and were fervent zealots. The major centers then exported this kind of missionary to all parts of the country and indeed the world.

The first blow to this orthodoxy came from the Black masses in the cities. In spite of twenty years of value free science, for example, DAS was unable to predict the riots of Detroit. The revolt of Black populations led to questions asked by the foundations of economic value investing in universities and studying systems of social control that had no predictive value. The street activities resulted in the universities opening up their doors to Black students from the working class. These students quickly questioned the validity of social science as a whole, and specifically the distinction between theory and practice. This challenge by Black students of academic orthodoxy has left many of the institutions severely bruised. Departmental organizations collapsed and new curriculum was created to meet the demands of these Black students. However, as predicted, the responses to the impact of the '60's were slow and short-lived.

More recently, developments reveal that the reaction to Black protest has been one of developing more sophisticated techniques of surveillance and control. No branch of government or private organizations has been left untouched by these new techniques of information retrieval. The response on the part of the society has been an anomy, that is, a sense of hopelessness and alienation in the face of this massive information technology. This response of hopelessness also produced an anarchistic response on the part of some protestors which, as we have seen historically, has been the source of fascism and totalitarianism. We are living in an era which has encouraged anarchistic individualism on the part of the oppressed and increased brutality and sophistication on the part of the oppressors. The task of all human beings in this context, and in particular those of us involved in social analysis, is to insist on the resistance of human repression and to work toward the creation of a new civilization. A social science without historical perspective and philosophical concern can at best lead to bankruptcy. The task before us, especially those of us concerned with the freedom of the oppressed, is to develop a social science that insists on a sense of history as well as philosophical purpose.

Unfortunately, the day to day survival needs of the poor and the oppressed have led many of us not to address ourselves to these questions and have turned our attention to pragmatic, practical and tactical questions of survival. Furthermore, this kind of concern is not going to attract foundation support, nor will it endear us to administrations who insist on a cost-benefit analysis. It becomes imperative, however, that even if we are unable to find financial support for such concerns, such concerns might be articulated and transmitted to our students before they go out on those massive data gathering investigations. Thus, we need an integrated approach to the whole question of theory construction (history and philosophy), methodology (technology) and teaching (practice). We cannot speak of any of those tasks in isolation of one another.

It should be pointed out that the reason for us to continue this work is an exceptionally simple one. In the 1960's, the established intellectual centers responded to the question of racism primarily because the government and the foundations felt that it could provide financial support. Studying this Black phenomenon became a fad as well as a lucrative business. However, fads tend to change and what we have witnessed almost before our eyes is the end of the Black fad. It is a matter of record that Black Studies Departments in American universities are being phased out with the "Nixonomic" phases. The heavy burden of undertaking research in the Black community will continue to fall on the few Black universities and a handful of Black scholars in large metropolitan universities. It is precisely for this reason that a conference such as this one must begin to plan our research strategies in an age when priorities of the Black and oppressed are becoming phased out. It must be remembered that the real intellectual renaissance of the Black population in the United States took place in a period when the Black masses were suffering greatest, mainly in the depression and the post war period. It was here at Howard that the real breakthrough work was undertaken by E. Franklin Frazier, Ralph Bunche and Eric Williams. There were many others like Oliver Cox working in isolation in southern Black universities who put on the agenda the fundamental questions that faced not only the Black community but America as a civilization. And there were others like DuBois who had to leave the United States to continue their work.

It is no accident then that in the latter half of the twentieth century, intellectual centers of research such as Howard must now begin to place the Black struggle not only in the context of America, but indeed in the context of the world revolution that is taking place. It becomes imperative that if we are to study such questions as the cities, we must constantly be aware not only of Detroit, but of Kinsaha, not only of Akron, but also Monrovia, and not only of

Birmingham, Alabama, but also Nain, Jamaica. These connections are not merely because of a connection between Black populations in both these cities. It becomes clearer when we discover that Firestone is in Akron, Ohio and Monrovia, Liberia, that General Motors is in Detroit and Johannesburg, and Kaizer is in Alabama as well as Surinam. It is because of the almost overpowering interests as well as the global dimension of American companies that we are led to study with great concern the inter-connections between America, Africa, Latin America and Asia. Of all the working classes in the world it is no accident that the Black working class is the most international, and it is critical that the children of the Black working class and Black plantation workers who have joined the ranks of the middle class not lose their international perspective.

If, as we have argued throughout the paper, the conventional academic centers are either unwilling or unable to fulfill the needs of the oppressed, what are the prospects of creating such a center at institutions like Howard University? To begin with, the task before us is to expose the ideological and racist assumptions of existing data collected about the Black populations in the United States. This means that a center should be created somewhere in the United States which is a reservoir of all materials collected on the Black populations. This data bank will have to develop bibliographical and analytical categories that are qualitatively different. For example, we have to rework the data collected by Moynihan and Banfield. The federal archives have to be re-examined to undertake historical case studies that have contemporary relevance for the black community. We could begin by identifying certain key areas:

(1) Population movements. A study of Black internal migration and their place in the working class to examine in greater detail the phenomenon of the permanent proletariat and reserve army;

(2) The organizational strategies developed in the United States to destroy as well as perpetuate certain Black voluntary organizations. The lesson from the 1960's is the successful elimination of Black militant organizations. We have to develop a theory of organizational behavior that shows how repression has been implemented.

(3) Out of these studies must come a theory of survival and an examination of the various ideological movements in the past, especially the whole question of "separation" and "integration."

In conclusion, we should note that the Black street rebellions have had one undesirable effect, in that it has led many young Blacks to reject all knowledge about the past and a wave of anti-intellectualism has been encouraged. Practice without a theory often leads to adventurism. Adventurism often brings about facism. A survival strategy must be historically oriented and theoretically clear, but neither of those goals can be achieved without practice. The task of social science is to create theoretical practice.

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BLACK COMMUNITY RESEARCH NEEDS: METHODS, MODELS AND MODALITIES

by

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Traditional research in the Black communities of this country and the world has, until now, served the purposes of those who controlled and profited from those communities. From the slave cabin to the high rise middle class apartment building, Black communities have been the equivalent of stables, that is, those areas where the work teams were stored. When the word *community* is broken-down into its roots of origin, the words common and unity emerge. If our attempt is to address those common needs which confront us as people of African origin, we must first appreciate the rationale and purpose of the way those needs have traditionally been defined by social scientists and begin to formulate rationales consistent with our common needs and our need for unity.

Research refers to a careful, systematic, patient study and investigation undertaken to establish facts or principles. Black communities must gain knowledge of the facts of our condition and establish principles for amelioration of that condition. Those principles for improvement of our common unity must be the goal of our search for facts. Research must be understood to encompass models, methods and modalities. The models are the preliminary representations or the plans for an end product. The model is the underlying theory of society in sociological research, the theory of man in educational research, and theory of mind in psychological research. The structure of the model is the map which guides our observations. Method refers to the way of pursuit for the pre-established model. Contrary to the usually more objective view of scientific investigation, the emphasis here is that the model or the map precedes the search and from the outset, very basic assumptions guide the eyes or method of the investigation. The scientific method is only one such way of pursuit. Modalities refer to those acts or manners of actually conducting the investigation. The specific goal of the search is defined by the modality.

This discussion will first of all review the models, methods and modalities of traditional research in Black communities. It will demonstrate how this research has been counteractive to the needs of black people and perpetuating of the racist motives of the non-black exploiters of those communities. Finally, it will elaborate ways that researchers in the black community must formulate models, methods and modalities consistent with the survival, growth and perpetuation of those communities.

Models of Traditional Research

The primary characteristics of the model or plan of traditional research is that of the superiority of the white race. In 1840, Dr. Samuel Morton (Stanton, 1960) concluded from his craniometric research that the brain of the various races of man became successively smaller as one descended from the Caucasion to the Ethiopian. Dr. Morton continued: The brain differential accounted for those primeval attributes of mind, which, for wise purposes, have given our race a decided and unquestionable superiority over all the nations of the earth. A brief look at the history of psychological research reads like the American Psychologists Hall of Fame as one unveils the true nature of the model of traditional research: G. Stanley Hall, founder of the *American Journal of Psychology* and first president of the American Psychological Association stated in his classic 1904 textbook entitled *Adolescence* that

> Certain primitive races are in a state of immature development and must be treated gently and understandingly by more developed peoples. Africans, Indians and Chinese are members of adolescent races in a stage of incomplete development.

William McDougall in his classic 1908 textbook *Introduction to Social Psychology* discussed instincts in human behavior and concluded that "in the great strength of this instinct of submission, we have the key to the history of the Negro race."

A survey of the literature which reveals essentially all research ever conducted on black bodies, minds and groups within the model of traditional Western Science shows blacks to be categorically inferior to whites. The mere fact that blacks are only studied in comparison with whites reveals that the underlying model or plan is whiteness. McGee and Clark (1973) appropriately observe that

> Where there is equality between things, there are no differences and therefore no psychological research. The way a person frames a question determines the limits within which his answer can possibly fall.

A second characteristic of the traditional research model is its authoritarian and exclusively masculine emphasis. Daniel P. Moynihan (1965) concludes that "the breakdown in the black family structure is a tangle of pathology which has arisen because the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole." Implicit in such a conclusion is the desirability of a patriarchal structure. This is another example of equating social variables in the black community with white definitions of pathology.

David McClelland (1965) writes in the *Harvard Business Review* that "the need for achievement is an essential ingredient for entrepreneurial success." Of course, he concludes that "South Americans, East Indians, poor from other countries and black Americans lack this (achievement) drive." The assumption of course is that the drive for power, control and authority which characterizes high need achievers is desirable. The correlation between such a drive and the traits of the authoritarian personality are frequently forgotten. A rigidity of thought processes, a tendency to manipulate people as objects, and an excessive sense of one's own moral rightness are reflected in the high achievement orientation as well as the characteristic of racism discussed above. This characteristic of the model adds to white supremacy, the features of masculine desirability and achievement/authoritarian orientations.

Another characteristic of the model is its assumption that what is real is material, quantifiable and directly observable. As observed by McGee and Clark, western man has all but lost sense of spiritual and non-material reality. "The technological affluence and materialistic values which characterize so much of western society and behavior is evident in the frequent equation of materialism and technology with cultural development." Chief Fela Sowande (1971) observes:

> But, of course, when an individual has grown so insensitive to the non-material world that he can no longer look at things of the flesh through the eyes of the spirit, but sees instead the things of the spirit through the eyes of the flesh, then he has indeed become a witting or an unwitting for the forces of destruction.

This emphasis on the observable, material and quantifiable is the hallmark of scientific method and reveals the critical emphasis of these assumptions as guidelines of observation in traditional research. In line with our definition of a model we see then that the preliminary representation of the research in the black community should be characterized by white supremacy, masculine authoritarianism, and materialism. In other words, we would expect research on and in the black community to reflect these characteristics if we refer to the model of traditional social science.

Methods of Traditional Research

We have briefly described and given examples of some characteristics of the traditional model which serve as the prototype for research in black communities. The methodology or way of doing the research is predicated on the assumptions of the model. In the words of Dr. Dubois McGee (1973) of Stanford University:

> Because the empirical foundations of Western science find their generic antecedents in the philosophical assumptions of the oppressor, we can easily understand why their primary premise becomes that which is like me is good while that which is different from me is bad, or white is good, black is bad.

The white research, then, on the basis of the aforementioned model can safely establish his behavior, his group, his culture as a norm and seek to assess predictable deviations from that norm. An example of the consequence of such methodology is the frequent deficit model of research. The poor and black are identified as "culturally deprived," "socially handicapped" and "disadvantaged." Their states of being are ascribed to them on the basis of their deviation from affluent and white groups along several observable, material dimensions. In other words, according to Thomas and Sillen (1972) "the behavior, language and thought of the poor represent deficits that are not present in the middle class."

The overwhelming emphasis on pathology as the concept of choice in describing 'non-white' peoples is another method of research which bolsters the white supremacy characteristics of the traditional model. Studies of the black person usually focus on what is abnormal in his life. The realistic vigilance of black people is called paranoia because such vigilance is unrealistic for whites. Strength of feeling in the black man is called "primitive emotionalism" because whites are characteristically emotionally dull. Clinical case histories are used as models of black personality.

Kardiner and Oversey (1955) and Grier and Cobb (1968) are examples of the almost boastful tendency of the traditional researcher to overgeneralize the crippling impact of oppression by utilization of clinical case material. Blacks are seen as disfigured victims of oppression or their behavior is interpreted as deviant even when it is realistic and normally adaptive within the social context (Thomas and Sillen, 1972).

The IQ test is utilized as a very common research and assessment instrument. It assumes that conditions surrounding the test behavior are constant and differences in scores reflect "real" differences in the subjects. Consequently, it is not unusual to find statements such as the following by Dr. Carl Brigham (1923):

> . . .the army tests *proved* (italics, mine) the superiority of the Nordic type over the Alpine, Mediterranean and Negro groups. . .as racial admixture increases, American intelligence would decline at an accelerating rate owing to the presence here of the Negro.

Comparative performance on an instrument constructed on the basis of certain restricted learning experiences is used to affirm the basic difference between groups who primarily differ in precisely those experiences under consideration. The test given rather readily assumes, however, that differences in scores on such a fabricated instrument reflect differences in factors which have undefined origins and nature. It is not unusual that we err along the lines described by Guilford (1967):

> In comparing two social groups on the basis of scores from a particular test, it would be important to know that the test measures the same ability or abilities in both groups. If it does not, the use of the scores would be like comparing the weight of one group with the metabolic rate of the other.

The method of most traditional research is to foster dualism or differentiations between white and black as well as between black and black. The choice of variables such as North vs. South, middle class vs. lower class, urban vs. rural, etc., though demonstrably critical variables, when overly relied upon they foster a fragmentary view of one's community and oneself. Such distinctions become even more destructive when the inevitable superior-inferior evaluations get included predicated on a white, middle class norm of superiority.

So we can see that the methods themselves perpetuate the model in that the types of instruments, the categories of subjects and the samples of behavior to be observed are all predetermined by one's conception of the world.

The modalities are the ways in which the research findings are implemented. Based upon a firm adherence to the methodology described above whereby one systematically chooses the behaviors, the subjects and the instruments predicated on a particular model of community and man, the results of the investigation are then interpreted in the light of the pre-established model from which one began. The cycle is almost complete, except for the perpetuation of the model by research-based programmatic interventions. It is at this point that humanitarians, politicians and citizens usually recognize that something is amiss, but the data has been collected and the scientific legitimization is formulated and the concerned are ill-equipped to counter the "scientifically proven facts."

Shockley (1966) concludes, based upon his studies of genetic intellectual inferiority of blacks:

> Can it be that our humanitarian welfare programs have already selectively emphasized high and irresponsible rates of reproduction to produce a socially relatively unadaptable human strain?

On the basis of such speculative conclusions, we begin to observe family planning clinics opening-up in black communities. As a direct extension of such research conclusions (with test scores to defend their efforts) systematic programs of genocidal counseling from pills to abortions to the dangers of sickle cell anemia begin to emerge. The justification, of course, is something to the effect that "the poverty of black communities is perpetuated by their tendency to have such large families." Such statements are never made in conjunction with related data which shows a thrice higher infant mortality rate among those same families. In retort to the cry of genocide the suspicious are told, "Family planning is not coerced, but every woman should be able to choose whether she wants children or not." Seldom do the family planning proponents reveal the exclusively negative information given to the young black expectant mother which serves as the basis for her systematically biased "free" choice. The psychological and sociological research findings interpreted in the light of the genetic inferiority of blacks (the white supremacy aspect of the model) is the scientific basis for the widespread presence of family planning and birth control efforts within black communities today.

Terman (1916) claimed, based upon tests, that a low level of intelligence was:

> very very common among Spanish, Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among Negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial. Children of such persons are uneducable beyond the merest rudiments of training. No amount of school instruction will ever make them intelligent voters or capable citizens in the true sense of the word. Judges psychologically they cannot be considered normal.

The programmatic conclusion was a scientific based decision for a continued separate-but-unequal educational system. Kenneth Clark's 1939 research findings that segregated education was damaging to the self-concepts of Negro children was utilized in the 1954 Supreme Court decision to imply that black children needed to be educated with white children. Dr. Clark's important finding was interpreted in the light of the traditional model and the modality became school desegregation which still resounds with the dying gasps of the last remaining lack educational institutions in this country.

Compensatory education such as Headstart, Upward Bound, and similar such programs were all based upon social science research. Jensen (1968) observes with partial accuracy that

> Attempts to provide compensatory education for disadvantaged children have failed because they were based on the assumption that black *could* (Italics, mine) attain the same level and quality of intelligence as whites.

The use of the phrase "could attain" is logically invalid by the single accomplishment of any one black. The assumption which misguided these programs is that black children "should attain" as whites. Such a conclusion is not possible, however, when one assumes as does Gunnar Myrdal (1944) that "the Negro is an 'exaggerated American' whose culture is merely a distorted development or a pathologic condition of American (*white*) culture in general (Italics, mine)."

The final traditional modality is that of behavioral control as a means of bringing the assumed deviance of blacks into line. The most extreme example is the recently exposed prominence of psychosurgery which rather amorally manipulates human (often black) behavior into line with a frequently fluctuating but consistently non-black model of behavior. More common is the reliance on the subtle methods of behavioral control utilized in the widespread methods of behavior modification. No one questions the effectiveness of psychosurgery. The assumption that body and behavior is the essence of man frees a questionably scrupulous society to rather efficiently mold people into some foreordained conception of man and mankind. Given the nature of the model described above, any black researcher, especially, should be terrified of the possible use of such methods.

The most important consequences for black communities by a systematic enforcement of modeling of white behaviors. As Glazer and Moynihan (1963) concluded: "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect." Such a conclusion is demoralizing according to Dr. Andrew Billingsley (1968)

> To say that a people have no culture is to say that they have no common history which has shaped and taught them. And to deny the history of a people is to deny their humanity.

Innovative Models of Research in Black Communities

As we look now at alternatives to the traditional research models, methods and modalities described above, we must refer to the patterns and characteristics which seem most in accord with the progressive survival and unity of black communities in particular and world communities in general. There are few such comprehensive models which have been complemented by actual methods and implemented modalities. The one such program to my knowledge is that taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad (1965) to his followers, The Nation of Islam. Despite whatever ideological or psychological resistances one might have to the lucid teachings of this outstanding leader and teacher, we must attend to the outstanding work of economic effusion, social and psychological rehabilitation and community development being accomplished under his leadership. Critical to Mr. Muhammad's model is the belief in God (Allah). It will be a contorted representation of his model by fitting it into the concepts of this context, but hopefully the basic notions will not be lost.

Let's consider the model of community as set forth in the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Such communities should be characterized by freedom, justice, equality, independence and peace. Implied in this model is an overall sense of unity and spiritual harmony.

Freedom may be conceptualized in several ways. On the one hand, it can be understood as a negation of slavery—a condition which blacks, as former slaves, should recognize and vigorously avoid. It implies a freedom *from* poverty, oppression (external control), murder, rape, theft and exploitation from without and within black communities. It means freedom *to* develop in accord with our true historical potential, operate our communities from within, educate our children and provide survival necessities for ourselves. Justice refers to equal treatment under the law for all men "regardless of creed, class or color," according to Mr. Muhammad. Justice implies ethics—an active belief which guides one's choices in a "preeminently individual" way in the words of William Banner.

Equality of opportunity and membership in civilized society is another characteristic of this model or plan of the black community. Equality as a guideline rather than differentiation, polarization and duality, the characteristic of traditional research, has important implications for unity. Similar implications of unity are reflected in the characteristic of independence described by Mr. Muhammad as separation from "our former slave masters." Peace or security within our independent communities would set the stage for a more universal spiritual harmony.

Within such a model for the character of black communities, we are equipped with a map which will appropriately bias our observations of black communities. As in the traditional model above, functions for the benefit of white controllers, here we have a model which is consistent with the needs of our communities while not necessarily being to the detriment of other neighboring communities. Two characteristics which we should also include in our model are the sixth and seventh factors of meaningful research outlined by Chief Sowande (1971):

> . . .6) Relationship index—the extent to which the researcher identifies with the culture within which the subject of research is found; 7) The individual conducting the research by which his personal 'worldview' his concept of 'nature', etc., indicate what possibilities there might be that research results may be unwittingly filtered through unsuspected or unacknowledged prejudices.

The inclusion of these factors add to the model of the research a model of the researcher as well. The traditional model describes the researcher through implication by the demand that he should be one who holds certain Western legitimized credentials such as a Ph.D. or status in certain institutions.

Methods of Black Research

The way to pursue the principles described above are set within certain boundaries. The methods emerge by inference from the model. The research which leads to freedom, justice and equality for self is through a method which emphasizes knowledge of self and kind. This means that out telescopes must be exchanged for microscopes and focused on ourselves. Again, I refer to Dr. Dubois McGee who states:

> Racial ascription, is the common denominator that is systematically woven through the international fabric of human life on this planet. Thus understanding the depth, height and width of our experiences as a collectively common one, makes our study of black self imperative to our survival and advancement as well as critical to a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of universal man.

The subjects of our study are then defined as black people. Contrary to the traditional procedures, our model does not require us to focus on the differentiations between blacks and whites. The extent to which generalizations from white behavior are appropriate in describing black behavior will be revealed from our discovery of the characteristics which generalize from one group of black people to other groups of blacks. The comparison (not contrast) of regionally different blacks or with nationally different blacks should give us critical data about the degree to which black people are alike (each other) rather than different from whites.

The self study which breeds theory from an appreciation of the culture and history of black people supplies new concepts and instruments for observation.

An example from McGee and Clark (1973) seems appropriate:

> The Islamic scholar, S.H. Masr, defines intelligence as the ability to know God. This Eastern definition of intelligence is almost completely alien to most western ears. This is because western science is organized in such as way that it precludes the association of the concept 'intelligence' with the concept 'God.'

Certainly, the traditional concept of intelligence as "that which an intelligence test measures" is quite alien to this Eastern definition. We must recognize that despite the greater measurability and observability of the former, two-thirds of the world's population utilize a variant of the latter as their definition of intelligence. At least, this norm of intelligent behavior is a bit more advanced than the often dubious character of the western man who creates bombs, nerve gas and war with his intellectual prowess. As the great scientists of the world seek to understand the wisdom of God, they emphasize the synthesis of man rather than the Cartesian dualism.

> The Western inability to synthesize body (material) and mind (spiritual) has led some respected scientists to make the absurd comment that Black people in America are "good" in athletics, but poor in thinking. Such scientists fail to recognize that to have a good body means that one has a good mind, and vice versa; one cannot exist without the other. If the body is poor, the mind is also, and vice versa (McGee and Clark, 1973).

The implication is that our methodology should avoid fragmentary views of man which measure verbal fluency without consideration of physical aptness as shared indices of intellectual expression.

The instruments for black research should also emerge from the fertile cultural gound of the dynamic black experience. It would be a more legitimate observation of black community characteristics if those observations were conducted within the confines of those communities and the institutions of those communities. Traditional research does not have the philosophical latitude to appreciate the traditional black church as a well-coordinated community mental health facility. The fact that guidelines for community mental health services for black communities have been proposed out of white academic settings rather than referring to the characteristics of those already existing facilities is another example of the disdain for the black culture. The fact that child care experts who were probably raised directly or indirectly by black women, particularly in the upper classes in the North and South, now receive liberal funding to instruct black women in child care. In other words, a methodology of self-study reveals instruments, norms and techniques present within our communities.

Given the contiguous relationship of our communities to white communities we must also avail ourselves of information about whites, especially as their characteristics relate to our communities and their survival. We must follow the precedents being established by such theoreticians as Dr. Frances Cress Welsing (1972) whose color-confrontation thesis permits that

> All 'non-whites' will understand that whenever they are confronted by the ideology of white superiority and white supremacy, it is only a compensatory psychological adjustment. . .This then allows for the psychologi-

> cal liberation of 'non-whites' from the white superiority ideological domination which has so negatively affected the total functioning of 'non-whites.'

In other words, our research efforts in regard to non-black behaviors should be limited to the dynamics of racism and its multifarious manifestations within our black communities.

Modalities of Black Research

The interpretation and implementation of our research efforts must not fail as Carter G. Woodson (1931) describes the higher education of the Negro which

> . . .has been largely meaningless initiation. When the Negro finishes his course in one of our schools he knows what others have done, but he has not been inspired to do much for himself.

The programs which emerge from our research must in the phrase of Mr. Muhammad (1965), direct toward "self-help" which completes the cycle of our preestablished model of "common unity."

To achieve self-help our research efforts should first and foremost be problem oriented. We should avoid esoteric research which gives us a new listing of IQ scores or norms for achievement motivation. If the communities where we are conducting the research has a high death rate from hypertension, we should combine the efforts of the physicians, social scientists and residents to understand the interrelationship of nutrition, stress and social organization on hypertension. The specific goal of the research should be a reduction of the death rate from hypertension. As is implied in this same example, we must focus on interdisciplinary approaches to problem solution. We cannot abide by the artificial academic, class and status distinctions which have traditionally guided our establishment of programs. Cooperation must be the hallmark of our activities.

We should always be guided by humanitarian concepts in the establishment of any type of program effort. We should never expend dignity for expedience and fall victim to utilizing behavioral control methods rather than the often more difficult but more important building of values and a sense of self-control and self-discipline which characterize human behavior as opposed to the behavior of beasts. Similarly, our efforts should be toward the identification and cultivation of skills and techniques which are necessary to the building of our own communities. If dope is a problem in our communities, our efforts should be a multi-level approach to remove the input of the drugs, the social and the psychological necessity for the use of the drugs rather than the glib acceptance of another destructive drug for the sake of expedience.

A final modality involves a bold transcendence beyond the conventional perimeters of research. If our research efforts help us to foster communities with freedom, justice, equality, etc., then we will begin to recognize the spiritual continuity with the material and the observable. In other words, it will become necessary for us to systematically investigate arenas of nature which have traditionally been relegated to the metaphysical. We will be required to understand why black people have somehow maintained a rather vigorous, consistent and systematic belief in the metaphysical throughout their known history in North America and in Africa. Psychic research must be included in our investigations because one potential which is consistently present from Africa to the Carib-

Table i

A SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH NEEDS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES, DEMONSTRATING THE MODEL, METHODS AND MODALITIES OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

MODEL (Pattern of Black Communities)	METHODS (Way to pursue principles of Black Communities)	MODALITIES (Programmatic Activities)
Freedom . . . . . . from: Poverty, oppression (external control), murder, rape, theft, exploitation to: develop in line with potential operate our communities educate our children work for selves	Self-knowledge through Self-study	Self-help—Problem-oriented research vs. descriptive data collection Pooling of available resources, money, personnel and skills Cooperation—interdisciplinary research Foster growth of black institutions
Justice	Ethics Self-discipline Self-control	Building of conscience rather than behavioral controls. shared values

Equality (vs. differentiation and polarization)	Building of unity and mutual respect	Cooperation—interdisciplinary interclass, intermodal; community school as one Look to self & history for hypotheses Understand strengths Focus on similarities between blacks
Independence	Self-collaboration (Association)	Intra-group communication, build our own communities, skills, techniques
Peace (Security)	Self-respect, self-love Knowledge of enemy Protection	Recognition of environmental dangers (nature of enemy) Psychic research, Phenomenology Religion, prayer, etc.

bean, to Louisiana is the use of non-material forces to affect the material. We must understand how faith, prayer and meditation work since so much of our history has been guided by such forces. It is critical to understand if consciousness is a continuous state or what consequences ensue from altered states and if the histories, environments, nutrition and chemicals to which we are exposed affects that consciousness to any appreciable degree.

With the independence, peace and perpetuation of the other qualities defined for our communities, we must come increasingly to rely upon self-collaboration. We diffuse our strength and misdirect our energies by involving ourselves in fruitless and diversionary debates with those whose interest is not in our communities but in the maintenance of their model. To the extent that it is necessary to obtain external support for our research efforts, we must have an exchange of ideas. Our goal should always be one of ultimately finding support for our research within our communities. To refer to the above example of hypertension research, we could provide services at a moderate cost while still conducting our research. If we were serving our communities, those communities would demand that government spending be controlled by people within those communities who were committed to the welfare of those communities. In such instances, outsiders (black and white alike) would not be permitted to draw lucrative salaries in return for meaningless research in the traditional model already described. If we are interested in doing research on black child development, let's set-up a low-cost, cooperative daycare center where we give free consultative assistance in return for research assistance. There are volumes of phenomenological data to be obtained simply by talking to our black aged who possess illuminating information regarding the basic processes of living and dying. In return, we provide them with company and a sense of self-worth which adds years to their lives. The ultimate goal is to obtain unity and independence through mutual collaboration and self-help.

Conclusion

Traditional research in black communities has been geared toward the common needs of white unity and progress. Consequently, those research efforts were directed toward the affirmation of a model which was primarily characterized by white supremacy, masculine/authoritarianism and materialism. These features characterize the primary orientations of traditional Western society and should only logically be the expressive style of their research. Even a perfunctory survey of research on black people and black communities reveals an incontestable confirmation of these primary features of the traditional model of man, i.e., *He* should be *white* and *materially* wealthy achieved by *self-righteous assertiveness*. *"She* who is *black, poor* and *submissive* is by definition inferior, abnormal and unintelligent," so says the findings of traditional research. This model is systematically maintained from the concepts chosen for research to the subjects, instruments and interpretations of findings. Of course, the program implications merely serve to perpetuate the preordained model.

The example of an alternative model for Black communities is found in the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad whose effective model, methods and modalities should serve as an example for all who are committed to black people. His tenets of freedom, justice and equality are reasonable characteristics for any community. His expressed goal of unity echoes the root of the word "comm-unity." The methods of self-knowledge with the ultimate goal of self-help is no more than the minimal requirement for civilized men. From Mr. Muhammad's tenets we are able to elaborate the necessity for cooperative, interdisciplinary research efforts, problem-solving oriented research and service-oriented research and service-oriented investigative efforts. The necessity to use the characteristics and institutions of the black communities rather than external models of communities will result in uncharted areas of research into the metaphysical and non-traditional areas of investigation.

In summary, if the research in our communities is to be a meaningful effort to alleviate the problems which confront those communities, then we must re-examine the research training which we have received. If the research in our communities is to foster the growth and development of those communities, then we must reevaluate the goals we have for those communities. If our research is to be in the universal tradition of the great Scientists of the world, then we must raise our sights to greater horizons for study.

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Part II Socialization and Black Family Life

BEYOND PATHOLOGY: RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK FAMILIES

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One of the intriguing developments of the 1970's is the heightened interest in the black family, a trend which began in the 1960's. Far more than the general study of the family in modern society, interest in black families has been more controversial and intensive. In part, this is a consequence of the unique history of blacks in America as racial minorities, oppressed by economic and racial barriers, and their continued quest for survival.

Yet, unlike any other domain of American social life, the social scientific investigation, study and description of black families have been characterized by myths, stereotypes and unvalidated generalizations. Frequently, such generalizations have been based on small and unrepresentative statistical samples. For example, Kardiner and Oversey[1] based their theory of "the mark of oppression" on psychiatric diagnoses of 25 black subjects, including both psychiatric patients and paid subjects. From their study with a population sample of 25, they were miraculously able to generalize about the ways in which discrimination depresses black self esteem, creates anger and frustration, and how blacks defend themselves against the resultant feelings of aggression by internalizing them. Moreover, most studies on black families have utilized sources containing considerable social pathological data, i.e., social work case records, court and psychiatric records, and typically low-income, non-working black populations surviving under extraordinary conditions of poverty, deprivation and oppression.

Further, it is important to point out that most social science research on black families have not been studies of marriage and family among blacks. Instead the focus has been on race relations, black personalities, aggression, the so-called "Negro Problem," poverty and the like. Consequently, family research on black families has too often in the past been related to crude theories of race and race relations, and have been based on the gross assumption that all black families are homogeneous or monolithic.[2]

It is not surprising therefore, that these studies have been largely descriptive and unrelated to existing bodies of theoretical and empirical family literature. In fact, what we have are discrete, fragmented and particularistic data which are highly unreliable. Furthermore, because such data are implicitly undergirded by out-dated race relations theories, (which themselves are based on inadequate methodologies, weak conceptualizations, and more importantly, non-social concepts) they are useless as a foundation for understanding contemporary black family behavior. Similarly, it can be argued that the heavy reliance upon cultural and psychological analyses as well as trait approaches to the "Black Personality," i.e., intelligence, self-hatred and emotions, will not assist or inform an understanding of the contemporary or past history of black families.

We shall first discuss some traditional approaches to the study of black families; secondly, some current approaches which we have described as "beyond pathology;" and thirdly, some conceptual and methodological problems of black family research as they relate to issues of marital and family stability.

Traditional Approaches to the Study of Black Families

A review of sociological literature from the 1920's to the 1960's provides a striking parallel between the study of black families and three sociological fields: social problems, social disorganization and social pathology. In all three fields, "problems" were not explored theoretically nor systematically; they were not embedded on any larger social, economic or political context; and they were not linked with any other body of theoretical and empirical literature. Thus, the "men of science," who investigated social problems, occupied themselves with moralizing solutions and cataloguing and decrying such "problems" as prostitution, crime, juvenile delinquency, mental illness and social dependency.

It was within the context of this pathological framework that black families were investigated, and compared with the so-called nuclear white family. In part, this comparison was in agreement with those who argued such as Parsons[3] and Goode,[4] that the isolated nuclear family with its sex-linked division of labor (with only one person in the labor force) was the most desirable and compatible family structure for modern industrial societies.

This assumption, however, has been challenged on two accounts. First, for example, Litwak[5] and Sussman[6] have shown that even among white Americans there is considerable family structural variability. Litwak argues that a modified extended family structure is probably more normative among all American families than the isolated nuclear structure. He describes the modified nuclear family as a coalition of nuclear families in a state of partial dependence where its members exchange significant services with each other, yet retaining considerable autonomy. Unlike the classical extended family, the modified nuclear family is not bound by economic and geographic restraints.

The assumption that the isolated nuclear family is the only family form which can best serve the needs of a modern industrial society has been seriously challenged on the grounds that a pluralistic society requires differential family structures in order to fully meet the needs of its members as well as those of the social system. Thus, for example, Hays and Mindel[7] point out in their study on "Extended Kinship Relations in Black and White Families" that their findings tend to support the view that the black extended family acts as a supportive structure in providing kinship aid and support in what is typically a hostile environment.

The failure to recognize the viability of varied black family structures frequently resulted in a comparison with some presumed ideal white norm that portrayed black families as pathological, weak, bad, inferior, and more recently, some writers have concluded that they are "bad for the nation." Just as the "blackness" concept has been portrayed throughout the ages in literature, religion, history, folklore and social customs as evil, death, and an abyss of hopelessness and eternal damnation, American black families have meant a "tangle of pathology"—matriarchy, child illegitimacy, adultery, divorce, desertion, welfare dependency, welfare inheritance, low school achievement, low educational aspirations, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, adult crime, and a "vicious cycle of poverty."

In all of these efforts, black families were never treated as the unit of analysis, rather, as a social problem for which a moral solution was invariably sought. The unit of analysis was the social problem, while blacks—whether as children, adults, inmates of prisons and psychiatric hospitals, street people, residents of public housing projects, students in educationally inferior public schools—were merely deviant products of social problems. And in many instances, they were considered to be the "social problem" itself.

Since the 1950's, the "social problems" orientation has been largely replaced by the sociology of deviance. Although social deviance theorists no longer exemplify the moral outrage and the atheoretical orientation of their predecessors, whenever blacks are studied within this framework, the emphasis is still upon the "deviant" and his or her "problem." This occurs despite the attempts of these theorists to replace a correctional stance with an appreciation of the deviant; to humanize and normalize the "deviant" to show that he or she is no different from others.

The continued usage of this approach in reference to the study of black people is seen in a critical essay on the sociology of deviance entitled "The Poverty of the Sociology of Deviance: Nuts, Sluts, and Perverts."[8] The author uses the following quotation from a young woman who grew up in the South in the 1940's and 1950's to illustrate his suspicions about the motives of those social deviance theorists who claim tolerance for deviants:

> "You know, I think from the fact that I was told so often that I must treat colored people with consideration, I got the feeling that I could mistreat them if I wanted to."[9]

Now this reference to "colored people" by a young woman who grew up in the South is used by the author to characterize his skepticism of the ideological assumptions of social deviance theorists. The quotation is preceded by his reference to "homosexuals, prostitutes, mental patients, and others." It is difficult to fathom how black people entered this discussion about persons labelled deviant. We can only surmise that they were intended to be included in his category of "others."

This brief literature review has sought to reveal that when black families have been considered they have been subjected to a social problems orientation. But it also shows the omission of research on the black family as a social institution. Andrew Billingsley[10] has provided careful documentation on the neglect of black families in social science literature. Thus, he points out that even when opportunities existed for such research they were not taken. For example, studies of the family, ethnic assimilation, the black experience and social welfare problems, all represent logical and appropriate domains for inquiry on black family life.

Dialectics in the Study of Black Families: The Frazierian Tradition

There is no question that the most seminal tradition in the study of black families was established by E. Franklin Frazier. Although W.E.B. DuBois' edited volume, *The Negro American Family,*[11] which was based in part on case studies of 32 black families conducted by Atlanta University students was published some 31 years before Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States,* [12] it is Frazier who is considered the father and architect of the study of black families. In his foreword to the 1966 edition of *The Negro Family in the United States,* Nathan Glazer suggests that Frazier's "major framework remains solid and structures all our thinking on the Negro Family."

It is unfortunate that Glazer along with his colleague, Daniel P. Moynihan, as well as others who have utilized Frazier's framework and attempted to empirically validate his conclusions, have not understood, as Frazier, the difference between the statement of a research problem and its solution as a social problem. As James E. Conyers[13] suggests in his introduction to DuBois' *The Negro American Family,* the two phenomena are not the same. Moreover, unlike Frazier and DuBois, Moynihan and others who view black family life as a "tangle of pathology," have failed to understand that the social, economic and political liberation of all black people is intricately related to the stability and survival of black family life.

Although the denigrating tradition of the study of black families can be attributed to the writings of Frazier, until recently none of his fundamental propositions about the stability of black family life have been subjected to rigorous empirical investigation. Instead, most literature has attempted to validate or find "proof" for pathology and social disorganization. For example, despite the fact that Frazier described stable marriages among both slaves and free men, as well as unstable alliances, most literature ignores the former and uses the "heritage of slavery" to explain the present condition of black families. Thus, there is a widespread and uncritical acceptance of a part of Frazier's major thesis while the other is ignored.

For example, Pettigrew asserts that "both poverty and migration . . . act to maintain the old slave pattern of a mother-centered family." Thus, for Pettigrew the conditions of poverty and migration are the key variables which make "the ideal American pattern of household economics practically impossible" for black families. He concludes, the scar of slavery upon Negro family life, perpetuated through poverty and migration, is still evident."[14] And Glazer and Moynihan concluded their discussion of the black family with the observation that: "The Negro is only an American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect."[15]

In contrast to those who have utilized the "heritage of slavery" concept to explain contemporary black family life, recent scholarship has begun to subject some of Frazier's ideas to empirical investigation. The most recent challenge (and highly controversial) to traditional scholarship on the slave past of black Americans has been provided by Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. These investigators argue that even under the cruel and abominable conditions of slavery, the black slave was able to develop stable two-parent families.[16]

In addition to the research on black families under slavery, there are significant developments occurring in research on nineteenth century black families. Although there is yet to be published a major work in this area, the existing research is beginning to shatter many contemporary myths about black families.

Herbert Gutman found that from 77 per cent to 90 per cent of black families in the 1880's and 1890's were two-parent households in several southern and northern cities.[17] Similarly, Theodore Hershberg found that 76 per cent of all black households in Philadelphia in 1880 and 1896 were two-parent families.[18] Paul Lammermeier used the United States Manuscript Censuses for 1850 through 1880 for seven Ohio Valley cities to investigate the notion that slavery promoted female-dominated families. He found that the urban black families in these cities during the nineteenth century were basically two parent, male-headed families.[19]

In a similar study using manuscript census schedules of the federal census for Boston in 1880, Elizabeth Pleck[20] found that 82 per cent of all black households were two-parent families. Pleck also investigated the thesis that migration to the city was a disruptive process which served to weaken family structure and produce large numbers of one-parent households. Her data refute this hypothesis which had earlier been advanced by Frazier and recently by Moynihan. Pleck observes that "at least for late nineteenth-century Boston, quantitative evidence calls Frazier's thesis into question. Two-parent households were more frequent among both migrant and rural black heads of households."[21] She concludes that "the presentation of these raw statistics forces us to challenge and revise previous conceptions about the black family. More lies hidden behind a high death rate, a transient population, and a poverty-stricken black community than the phrases "culture of poverty" or "family disorganization" convey. If the black family were merely the image of the social conditions of urban blacks, we would find a rootless, disorganized mosaic of families."[22]

These studies are particularly exemplary of the revisionist trends in social science literature on black families. Their significance is highlighted in William Goode's lament in 1968 about the absence of historical trend data on the American family. Goode,[23] who has for some time been a strong advocate for the use of historical data in sociological research, observed that "not one history of the American family can be taken seriously . . . "[24] Recognizing the existence of a few monographs on the family during certain time periods, he concluded that "we are, in fact, deficient in the most basic data on which any important analysis of family change in the United States must be founded."[25] Although Goode's observations about the absence of trend data on American families were directed at white Americans, they are no less true for black Americans.

In addition to the absence of any reliable data on the past history of black families, we have argued that family research on blacks has been plagued by a disparaging tradition. This tradition is now under heavy attack. For we are now in a period in which research on black families can be characterized as "beyond pathology." Billingsley helped to lead the way with the publication of his book *Black Families in White America*[26] in 1968, followed by Charles V. Willie's edited volume of readings, *The Family Life of Black People*[27] in 1970, *The Black Family*[28] edited by Robert Staples in 1971, John H. Scanzoni's *The Black Family in Modern Society*[29] also in 1971, and in 1972 Robert B. Hill's monograph, *The Strengths of Black Families.*[30]

All of these works represent an effort to identify positive aspects of black family life and to investigate that other three-quarters of black families that have husbands and wives rather than the one-quarter who do not. This literature is resulting in new conceptualizations, theoretical perspectives and an increasing understanding of the dynamics of black family life including those which interpenetrate with the larger society. Consequently, this new body of growing literature on black families overwhelmingly suggests systematic changes and system-blame rather than individual change and victim-blame.

Marital and Family Organization Analysis

Much of the prior discussion on the disparaging tradition in the study of black families can be further understood within the context of marital and family stability. Because of the wide-spread assumptions regarding the relationship between marital and family stability and social and personal life choices for individuals, research on these topics should not only lead to fruitful outcomes for social change, but also to an understanding of black family patterns.

The existing data on marriage and family among blacks scarcely extends beyond gross indicators that suggest a higher proportion of black than white households has a female head, that the incidence of marital dissolution is higher among blacks than whites, and that many black children do not spend their entire childhood in their families of orientation.

Yet, in the absence of data which would reveal underlining processes of black family life, social science literature has claimed that marital and family disruption is a source of social and personal maladjustment among blacks and has a discernable influence on life chances. The list of maladjustments include: (1) lessened academic achievement; (2) juvenile delinquency; (3) lessened resistance to the negative effects of racism; (4) failure to learn the values and expectations of society; (5) failure to learn the discipline and habits necessary for personality development; (6) inability to delay gratification; (7) mental illness, drug addiction, and crimes against individuals.

The literature on family and marital stability represents a good deal of confusion on both the conceptual and empirical levels. The failure to distinguish between marriage and family has contributed to the more pervasive distortions and stereotypic views regarding family and marital stability among blacks. Many definitions of *marriage* and *family* seem arbitrary, and useful only for a given investigator's purposes. This situation demonstrates a need for clarity and precision in the study, analysis and classification of empirical data (especially demographic data) on black families. For example, until Billingsley's typology of black family structures, there was little empirical data on the range and variation of family structures within black communities. Moreover, his efforts have led to other investigations that have attempted to validate these structures. Thus, for example, Williams and Stockton[31] were able to validate the full range of nuclear and extended family structures, however, fewer augmented families were found. Nonetheless, one of the significant consequences of this research was the documentation of other household types not included in Billingsley's typology. These types ranged from widowed female and single male living alone, to single male and female living with relatives.

The point is that structures such as these are not usually considered in studies on black families. There is some evidence which suggests that although a fairly sizable number of black people do not actually live in households where there are families, they are intricately involved in family systems. For example, Jacqueline Jackson[32] points out that in her research on the black aged in Durham, North Carolina, she found that many elderly black men, living alone, had been adopted by families in the neighborhood. This meant that they regularly had their meals with these families, while at the same time were able to provide various support services to these families such as babysitting, socialization assistance for the young, etc. The point is that there is a good deal we do not know about blacks who are living outside of families, including those who are at the transition from parental to independent family status and widowhood.

Aside from the omission of various family structures in the study of black families, most studies likewise ignore different forms of marriage among blacks. Thus, for example, consensual marraiges are frequently not recorded as stable systems even when they have existed over a long period of time. Here the goal should not be to reproduce the sexual histories of Rainwater's[33] research at the Pruitt-Igoe housing projects, but rather to assist an understanding of a full range of black family life styles that will inform our knowledge beyond the "man-in-the-house" syndrome.

Although marriage and family are interrelated, they are not synonymous concepts. The essential difference lies in the fact that they are distinctive social institutions. Marriage is commonly viewed as "an institutionalized mating arrangement between human males and females," while the U.S. Census Bureau since 1963 has defined family as two or more people who share the same household who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption.[34] According to this definition no legal marriage need ever have existed. However, some social scientists view the family as a product of marital interaction. For example, Christensen suggests that "family refers to marriage plus progeny and signifies a set of statuses and roles acquired through marriage and procreation."[35] The U.S. Census Bureau's definition of family allows us to take into account the wide range of family structures identified by Billingsley as well as others.

The failure to distinguish between the social institutions of marriage and family have led to considerable research in which marital dissolution is equated with family dissolution. The controversy about the effects of divorce on children serves as an example. It is possible both theoretically and empirically to have marital dissolution, while at the same time maintain family organization. Just as it is important analytically to distinguish between marriage and family, it is equally important to make a distinction between marital organization and family organization.

Family disorganization is the construct frequently used to describe so-called disorders in marriage and family. All too often, however, it has been used in a normative rather than empirical sense, and is thus used to describe such phenomena as divorce, adultery, illegitimacy, etc. If the construct is to have any value for understanding family and marital behavior, it must be dissociated from its evaluative history.

Albert K. Cohen's[36] conceptual formulation of social disorganization and Jetse Sprey[37] and John Scanzoni's[38] recent explications of the concept in relations to families serve to assist a clarification of family disorganization and marital dissolution.

Using a game analogy Cohen defines social disorganization as a breach in the "constitutive order or events—an order conforming to the constitutive rules—of the game." Thus, order can be defined as organization or maintenance of a system, while disorder can be defined as the dissoultion or disorganization of a system.

Since marriage and family can be viewed as distinctive social institutions, it is therefore important to distinguish between family disorganization and marital disorganization. Thus, according to our definition of marriage as "an institutionalized mating arrangement between human males and females," marital disorganization can be defined as system dissolution indicated by divorce, legal separation, death and permanent desertion. By this definition, illegitimacy is not an appropriate indicator of marital disorder. Similarly, according to our definition of family, family disorganization may be defined as a state of disorder in the constitutive pattern of family process, or a condition of disorder within the structure of interrelated status-roles that constitute a family system. According to this definition, the elimination of one parent does not necessarily constitute family disorganization.

The importance of these distinctions will allow research that can explore differential patterns in marriage and family; the isolation of variables at both the marital and family levels of analysis that may differentially impact on marital and family stability; the exploration of different types of marriages and family systems; and the conditions that support organization-disorganization in both systems. Moreover, by exploring the conditions that contribute to the order of a social system, one avoids the "social problems" orientation of the past literature, while at the same time providing an opportunity for linking the study of the family with a larger of theoretical and empirical literature.

Thus, one of the major conceptual problems in the literature on black families is the definition of a stable family as one in which two actors of the opposite sex marry and live with their spouse. This orientation of using a conjugal union as an indicator of family stability is related to the notion that the quality of the social and personal adjustment of black Americans (particularly black children) is casually linked with the sexual composition of their families.

In an empirical test of the idea that marital instability among present day blacks is related to a family history of instability, Jerold Heiss[39] found only a weak relationship between parental family instability and the incidence of marital disruption among his respondents. In this study of a sample of over 4,153 black males and females, aged 21-45, Heiss explored five factors that have been associated with marital disruption: (1) age at break in parental home; (2)

social class; (3) household composition—including both sexes and female heads; (4) household type—reconstituted families where one parent remarries, and expanded families where the child joins another family group with or without one of his parents; and (5) cause of family break—death or conflict

The weak relationship that was found between family structure (parental instability) and marital instability included social class and death of the parent of the same sex. That is, those black males and female adults, who were middle-class and whose parents divorced or separated, were more likely to experience marital disruption themselves. Similarly, those who experienced the death of the parent of the same sex were more likely to have marital disruption. However, Heiss, in pointing out that parental family instability generally explained very little of the variance in marital instability, concluded that "most of the factors which affect marital stability among blacks remain to be discovered."

Another area which family structure has been related to negative outcomes for blacks is the assumed relationship between father absent homes and educational consequences for black youth, particularly males. The argument suggests that the absence of a father from the household deprives black boys of a male role model and increases the prominence of mothers. These mothers are assumed to contribute to the poor academic achievement and low interest in education for black boys and the mothers' heightened ambitions for their daughters.[40]

Kandel[41] explored this hypothesis in a study of 1,683 working-class high school students, with a 20 per cent black student body and their mothers. Kandel found no confirmation for this hypothesis. In fact, she found that the authority of mothers tended to be stronger in intact families rather than in those without fathers. Moreover, maternal authority in the household and identification with a female role model did not have the negative consequences on educational aspirations and school performance for black adolescent boys which have been attributed to them. Black mothers and their children were found to have the same or higher educational aspirations than white mothers and their children, despite the fact that the black adolescents tended to identify more closely with their mothers.

Kandel's data are quite consistent with other studies which have revealed that the full range of black family patterns do not produce the negative consequences on aspirations which have been attributed to them.[42] The evidence seems clear: that the black family has successfully transmitted high educational aspirations to its children. Thus, these data suggest that future research should be directed at other factors within and outside the family which make it difficult for black adolescents to translate educational aspirations into educational achievement.

Recent literature on black families have begun to identify and emphasize those factors which support the development of stable families. Billingsley refers to these factors as "opportunity screens," and suggests that they ". . . have enabled some Negro families to survive, and to move beyond survival to stability and social achievement."[43] He has identified six "opportunity screens" at four different levels of analysis: the individual, the family, the community (or neighborhood) and the larger society. These include:

- A set of values or philosophy with an accompanying pattern of behavior consistent with those values, and a certain degree of independence and control of the forces affecting the lives of their members;
- Strong religious convictions and behavior;

- Education or educational aspirations of one or more members;
- Economic security (possession of property);
- Family ties; and
- Community centered activities (Associational ties, role models, advocates for children).

Similarly, Hill[44] has identified five family strengths; (1) strong kinship bonds; (2) strong work orientation; (3) adaptability of family roles; (4) strong achievement orientations, and (5) strong religious orientation. In another investigation, Scanzoni[45] identified a similar list of factors that were associated with his 400 black families in Indianapolis. These included: (1) economic status advantage over the black population nationally; (2) residence in and length of exposure to the urban milieu; (3) strong family ties; (4) support and aid from community figures; (5) religious affiliation and involvement; (6) positive school experiences, and (7) positive self-image.

The purpose of this review of studies, which have demonstrated unique characteristics of black families which contribute to their stability as families, is to suggest a line of research that would explore relationships between these variables as well as the development of casual inferences. Moreover, such research would allow us to understand how, under similar conditions of oppression, some black families are able to survive, while others are not.

Similarly, research on marital organization, as distinguished from family organization, must address itself to those variables that contribute to marital organization as well as disorganization. Thus, for example, an examination of demographic census data from 1890 to 1969 by Farley and Hermalin[46] revealed minor changes in the status of marriage among blacks, (that is, the majority of blacks throughout this period have been in the status indicative of marital stability), but when we compare blacks with whites a higher proportion of whites than blacks are in the status of marital stability. This relationship holds true even when socio-economic controls are applied.

Jesse Bernard,[47] J. Richard Udry,[48] and Paul C. Glick[49] found that gross census level controls of occupation, income and education, while having an important effect on marital stability, do not come close to eliminating variance attributable to race. As a matter of fact, these data show that black marital stability only converges with whites when blacks who are high on income, occupation and education are compared with whites who are lower on these status variables. There is ample evidence to show, however, that black males, more than white males, are more likely to experience status inconsistence on these variables of income, education and occupation.

Thus, any research effort on black marital stability must take this into account. Moreover, research on black marital stability must also consider those life experiences associated with race that makes for the high correlation with marital instability.

This review indicates several important shifts in family research on black families. Not only is there a serious challenge to the traditional views on the impact of slavery and migration on family stability, but the emerging literature on nineteenth century black households is forcing a major revision in past conceptions of black families. As Pleck points out "notions of 'black matriarchy' and 'the tangle of pathology' of the black family have captivated sociologists and historians alike, but now the task before us is to tell the rather different story of the complex organization and continuity of the black household."[50] Indeed, the future of black family research rests beyond pathology.

Footnotes

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2. See the following literature reviews on research on black families: Mozell C. Hill, "Research on the Negro Family," *Marriage and Family Living* 19 (February 1957), 25-31; Robert Staples, "Towards A Sociology of the Black Family: A Decade of Theory and Research," *Journal of Marriage and The Family* 33 (February 1971), 19-38; Andrew Billingsley, "Black Families and White Social Science," *Journal of Social Issues* 26 (Summer 1970) 127-142.

3. Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943), 22-38; Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," in Ruth N. Anshen (ed.), *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1949, 190ff; Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1955, 3-19.

4. William J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, New York: The Free Press, 1963.

5. Eugene Litwak, "Extended Kin Relations in an Industrial Democratic Society," *Social Structure and the Family Generational Relations*, E. Shanas and G.F. Streib, (eds.), New York: Prentice-Hall, 1965, 290-323; Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review* 25 (February 1960), 9-21; Litwak, "Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (June 1960), 385-394. For a general review of this debate see Bert N. Adams, "Isolation, Function and Beyond: American Kinship in the 1960's," in Carlfred B. Broderick (ed.) *A Decade of Family Research and Action 1960-1969*, Minneapolis: National Council on Family Relations, 1972, 163-185.

6. Marvin B. Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family," *American Sociological Review* 28 (February 1953), 22-28.

7. William C. Hays and Charles H. Mindel, "Extended Kinship Relations in Black and White Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (February 1973), 51-57.

8. Alexander Liazos, *Social Problems* 20 (Summer 1972), 103-120.

9. *Ibid.*, 105.

10. Billingsley, "Black Families and White Social Science," op cit.

11. W.E. Burghardt DuBois, (ed.) *The Negro American Family,* Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: The M.I.T. Press, 1970.

12. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

13. DuBois, op. cit., xiv.

14. Thomas Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American,* Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1964, 15-17.

15. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot,* Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press and the Harvard University Press, 1963, 51. In the second edition of their book, these authors have somewhat modified this theme, but its basic meaning is unchanged. The most controversial and well-known position in this tradition was espoused in the so-called "Moynihan Report." This "Report" argued that the disorganization of the black family began in slavery and continued and expanded after migration to the city. Along with high unemployment rates among black males, the tradition of matriarchy inherited from slavery, had fostered the disintegration of urban black families. Describing this condition as a "tangle of pathology", Moynihan argued that blacks were trapped in cyclic patterns of male instability, broken homes, juvenile delinquency, and illegitimate births. See Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Call For National Action,* Washington, D.C.,: U.S. Department of Labor, 1965.

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RESEARCH ISSUES RELATING TO THE BLACK AGED

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An anonymous person once said, "I don't mind being old, or Black, or even poor, but I'll be damned if I want to be old, Black, and poor at the same."

This is, however, a prophetic statement of condition for a significant and ever increasing segment of our population—the aging and aged Blacks. A condition which has been well documented by Lindsay (1971), Jackson (1971), Rubenstein (1971), and others.

Of course, it is important to acknowledge that growing old is a relatively new phenomenon for both Blacks and whites alike. Therefore, the *total* aging population has suffered to some extent from a lack of concern and action in the areas of public social policy, health and welfare programs, and other special services to meet the needs of an aging population, and indeed, we are becoming an aging population. This is evidenced by the fact that the population of 65 years and over is nearly 10 percent of the total population today compared to less than five percent twenty years ago. And further evidenced by the fact that the life expectancy of Blacks today is 62 years compared to a life expectancy in the mid-fifties 20 years ago.

It becomes apparent that everybody is living longer, including Black people, but they are certainly not living better. The quality of life for the elderly Black person, therefore, becomes the underlying and pervasive concern of the Black gerontologist. All of the problems that plague the elderly in our society are compounded for the Black elderly. They are sicker, poorer, and less well integrated into the social world around them.

One of the earliest and most comprehensive studies of the Black aged was published by the NUL in 1964 and titled, very appropriately—**DOUBLE JEOPARDY**. They stated:

> We know that Negroes bring to their older years a whole lifetime of economic and social indignities, a lifetime of struggle to get and keep a job, more often than not at unskilled hard labor, a lifetime of overcrowded, substandard housing in slum neighborhoods, of inadequate medical care, of unequal opportunities for education and the cultural and social activities that nourish the spirit, a lifetime of watching their children learn the high cost of being a Negro in America . . . He has indeed been placed in DOUBLE JEOPARDY, first by being Negro and second by being aged.

And more recently in the field, we are talking about triple jeopardy, in relation to the added burden of being poor, uneducated, etc. The NUL study focused some much needed attention on the special plight of the "invisible Black aged," to coin a phrase. We could no longer deceive ourselves with fantasies of plump, smiling grandmothers smothered by the warmth and protection of adoring grandchildren. We found that they had left the farm, many had never married and were childless, and most were living in poverty with loneliness and sickness as constant companions.

The social circumstances of the Black aged have been further explicated by Daniel Rubenstein and Carl Hirsch. Both are considered very excellent and relevant pieces of research, and have added new dimensions to our knowledge about the patterns of social and family interaction of the Black aged. Much of their findings are very disheartening but they also found some very positive patterns of interaction among the Black aged and their families, as well. And we know that a small percentage of the Black aged has transcended a lifetime of racial discrimination and humiliation and managed to keep their families together, educate their children and retire in relative comfort. How they did this remains to be answered, and suggest a fascinating topic for study.

The authors of this paper have identified what we consider the major areas of concern for the Black elderly today and will attempt to develop some ideas for action and research in these areas which are income, maintenance, housing and social relationships.

Income Maintenance and Related Issues

Since more than 50 percent of aged Blacks (those 65, and over) are poor, this discussion will concentrate on those income transfer systems which are the major resource for their maintenance. The two systems overwhelmingly utilized by the Black aged poor are social security benefits and public assistance.

The December 1972 issue of Current Population Reports on Consumer Income delineates *Characteristics of the Low-Income Population* in 1971. This statistical compilation is based primarily on 1970 census data. "Low-Income" reflects the definition developed by the Social Security Administration in 1964, and most recently revised in 1969 by a Federal Interagency Committee. A variety of cut off points is offered related to variables such as size of family, sex of head of family, number of minor children, and whether residence was farm or non-farm.

The definition of "low-income" is often equated with the "poverty index" and its core is the definition of a "nutritionally adequate" food budget as determined by the Department of Agriculture. Adjustments in the cost of living, though undertaken periodically, failed to keep pace with rapidly rising costs and the lag finally led to adoption of the Consumer Price Index as the basis for annual revisions. This fairly recent (1970) change in basis of assessing adequacy of income suggests that size of the low income population may be underestimated.

Blacks, like whites, are included in the recorded rate of decline in the number of poor persons in the U.S., but the decline has been at a significantly lower rate for Blacks than for whites. The Current Population Report quoted above indicated that between 1959 and 1971, the decrease in the number of poor Blacks was 29 percent as compared to a 38 percent decline for whites.

These figures relate to the total adult population, but the picture becomes decidedly more gloomy when the situation of those 65 and over is examined separately.

The Report on the *Economics of Aging,* prepared for the Senate Committee on Aging (1970) states that the likelihood of elderly Blacks being poor is more than twice as great as for elderly whites. The gravity of this is emphasized when it is noted that only about seven percent of those 65 years and older are Blacks as compared to approximately 11 percent of Blacks in the total population. In the overall population of the United States, white elderly persons constitute approximately 23 percent. These facts reflect the higher mortality rate among elderly Blacks as well as disproportionately greater poverty among them; and for rural residents, the percentages rise to 66 percent elderly Black poor in contrast to 31 percent white elderly poor.

The tragedy for all aged poor is the *permanency* of their poverty. Having passed peak earning years, there is not the hope and expectation normal for others who may be temporarily poor, such as poor students and young couples who have the outlook for increased income in the future.

The 1971 White House Conference on Aging adopted as an overall theme "Toward a National Policy on Aging." Throughout the deliberations of the various sections, emphasis was placed on the urgent need to eliminate poverty among the aged. To this end, the delegates in section after section offered the recommendation of achieving the goal of income adequacy for the aged as a first priority. All used figures are based on budgets prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Depending on which of the Bureau's budgets were used, the basic income recommended ranged from $4,500 for an aged couple ($3,000 for an individual) as provided in the 1970 Bureau's figures, to $9,000 for a couple ($6,000 for an individual) advocated by the Special Concerns Session on Aging and Aged Blacks.

Mechanisms recommended to achieve this goal included increase in Social Security payments, providing supplemental allowances for adult categories to be added to social security payments, a national program of family guaranteed income to include the older family, and other measures.

Need for improved income, especially for aged Blacks, is graphically illustrated by a review of average incomes of Blacks in older age groups as compared with whites of comparable ages. Current Population Reports for December 1972 on Consumer Income, focused on *Characteristics of the Low Income Population 1971.* In that year, the low "income threshold" for a non-farm family of four was given as $4,137 ("income threshold" is used interchangeably with "poverty level"). Although whites make up about two-thirds of all poor, Blacks are vastly over represented among the poor in relation to their percentage in the population. Only one tenth of the white population is poor whereas about one third of all Blacks fall below the low income level. With regard to representation of the aged in the poverty ranks, this same report indicates that two tenths of aged whites were included as compared to four tenths of Blacks.

All earlier research attests that income from work shows dramatic disparity between wages or salaries of Black and white workers. This is true for all age groups but is especially pronounced for older Blacks. Data which I used referred to 1969 statistics, which indicated that Black males in the 55 to 64 age groups were more than twice as likely to earn less than $4000 annually and four fifths of the Black women fell into the same earning brackets. In the over 65 age group, average earnings of Black males fell to less then $3000 per year and females earned approximately a thousand dollars less.

It is not necessary to pursue further the documentation of the disparities in income between Black and white, especially as regards the aged. Anyone who has been engaged in any field of human service has had first hand experience which can further document these facts. Let us look briefly at some of the more obvious effects of below poverty level incomes, especially for aged Blacks.

For maintenance, that is, only essentials for subsistence, there is greater reliance upon public assistance among aged Blacks than aged whites. With the stringency of eligibility requirements in most public welfare agencies it is doubtful that aged with incomes from any employment—even though such incomes fall below the poverty level—could qualify for aid. Consequently most of the aged Blacks receiving public assistance have no regular income from employment.

Past studies have shown a grossly disproportionate number of aged Blacks dependent upon old age assistance to eke out a bare subsistence. Recent increases in social security benefits and availability of food stamps for some have lifted a few aged Blacks to a slightly better subsistence level, but the disparity between Blacks and whites persists. Statistics for 1971 on persons below the low income level in 1971 indicate that almost twice as many Blacks 65 years and over still fall below the low income level (38.4 percent) as compared to the same age group of whites (19.9 percent) (Lindsay, 1971).

Another immediately observable effect of poverty level living is the type and quality of housing available to the Black aged. Most, without means for better quality, are confined to deteriorated, unsafe and unsanitary housing. In addition, there are threats to personal safety in crime ridden, dimly lit streets, and usually poor transportation facilities for trips outside the slum areas to which they are confined.

It is obvious that serious investigation should be addressed by researchers to the issue of income parity for Black and other minority aged. Even with improvements in social security benefits, supplemental grants and other proposed measures to ease the plight of all aged, serious gaps remain. At best, the income of the Black aged reaches about three fourths that of the majority group aged. Also, because of higher mortality rates for Blacks and less longevity, a substantial number of Black males in the age group 55 to 64, die before reaching the age of eligibility for such social security benefits as they might be entitled to. A proposal (Lindsay, 1971) for differentials in age eligibility has met considerable opposition, being called by some a plea for "preferential treatment." It has been suggested that since Blacks have had innumberable instances of *negative* preferential treatment such as discrimination in jobs, housing, education and pay, that we should now urge *positive* "preferential treatment" in the instance of eligibility for benefits. One area of research which might be explored with the goal of attainment of parity, is reform of the tax structure. Measures to change the regressive nature of our present social security tax to a more progressive orientation should be examined. One suggestion might be exemption from taxation of the first $3000 of income from employment, without reduction in benefits. Since aged Blacks' income is almost solely from employment, and since few earn more than $3000 per year, this would undoubtedly benefit aged (and other) Blacks to a great extent.

Further exploration should also be made into cost and feasibility of general funds being contributed to the support of all aged as is done in most industrial societies.

These and other proposals should be examined with the goal of bringing a greater measure of justice to the aged, and especially to the aged Blacks.

Housing and Related Issues

Another very serious problem area for the Black aged is the lack of decent housing that is available to them within the constraints of an inadequate income, and by any measure, the Black aged are the most economically deprived of any group.

Although it is commonly believed that to be old is to be dependent, about 95 percent of all the elderly live in the community rather than in institutions, (NCOA, 1971). For a significant number of them, housing is a problem. According to the 1970 census, about 30 percent of the housing units occupied by the elderly were judged substandard. For the Black elderly, the situation is doubly distressing. In 1969, 63 percent of the Black aged relocating in public housing were moving from substandard housing compared to only 30 percent of the whites who were relocating (Lindsay, 1971).

The housing problem in its most basic and traditional form can be defined as one of how to assure an adequate living environment for people too poor to pay market prices for decent housing. The most urgent conflicts over housing policy center on the unmet needs of the poor, Black people, and other minorities victimized by discrimination in the housing market. A large majority of elderly Blacks find themselves in such a position where they are able to function in an independent living situation but their income does not allow them to rent or buy on the open market without assistance. Even the "middle class" Black aged who own property suffer when they become the victims of forced relocation and urban renewal and must renegotiate in the open market with a closed income. In either case, few alternatives are available which meet their needs and which they can afford. Consequently, elderly Blacks are confined in large numbers to the deteriorating inner city in large metropolitan areas. It is interesting to note that older whites are three times more likely than older Blacks to live in suburban areas of metropolitan centers. In fact, only two percent of Blacks over 60 years old are included in the suburban population, (Brody, 1971), and the number of Blacks located in retirement communities is negligible.

The federal government has attempted to meet the housing needs of the poor aged through subsidy programs, low interest home improvement loans and public housing, which has prompted a major effort over the last ten years.

Federally subsidized public housing for the aged is of particular concern to the Black gerontologist because the residents are so overwhelmingly Black. HUD statistics for 1969 indicate a trend where almost 50 percent of the elderly moving into public housing were Black. This trend is further apparent in major metropolitan areas like Baltimore, New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., where the tenancy in public housing for the aged is predominantly Black, with long waiting lists of poor Blacks hoping to get in.

For many of the aged Black residents, relocation in the public housing project is a "Godsend," and comparatively speaking, it is. It means much improved physical housing with rents they can afford, opportunity for social relationships with their peers, and the availability of much needed health and welfare services. On the other hand, for most of them, it also means that they are relocated or continue to reside in the inner city, which is not always kind to the elderly.

Unfortunately, the great majority of public housing projects are developed in the inner city. The reasons for this selection of location are well-founded in our basic values of economy and inequality, tinged heavily with racism. Housing authorities proclaim that to build or acquire properties in the inner city ghettos is less expensive, therefore, more economically feasible. Suburban residents quickly acknowledge the overwhelming need for low income housing, but vehemently protest the location of the housing in their communities. Politicians are concerned with saving money and keeping their influential suburban constituents happy. This is of course an "age old" story to the younger poor families with children, many of whom are still in desperate need of adequate housing in this country. But "they have too many children," "they fight and curse," "they are undesirable," and most important, "they are too often Black." All of these factors contribute to the making a poor neighborhood, overcrowded facilities and a decrease in property values. The elderly residents are not rejected for all the same reasons, but primarily because they are poor and often Black.

The young have survived the inner city housing project, although with continued hardships. The elderly do not cope as well. Too many of them have become the vulnerable victims of inner city crime, corruption, and pollution. It is a fact of life that the aging process leaves us less able to cope with a hostile environment. We become less agile, our senses become less sharp, we become less tolerant of noise and confusion.

Lawton and Kleban (1971) reporting on the plight of the elderly in one housing project related:

> For older people it is not easy . . . the police were unanimous in their impression that the elderly are prime targets for purse snatching, armed robbery, and burglary, because they are considered an "easy mark." The frequency of these crimes with other more serious occurrences of rape and murder, keep fear alive among the elderly.

Their data indicated that physical security, although usually absent, was at the top of the hierarchy of needs as perceived by the residents.

> While these people are demonstrably deprived in income, health, and meaningful time use, their spontaneous comments reveal how urgently they fear threats to their physical safety and how deeply this insecurity underlies their difficulty in gaining satisfaction in other areas.

The deteriorated ghetto environment does in fact have a precipitous impact on known problems of isolation, immobility, health accidents, and utilization of health and welfare services. As one old Black woman related recently, "Plenty of times, I just stay in my apartment because I'm too scared to walk down the street." This elderly resident of an inner city project, had been the victim of purse snatching on four different occasions and walked with a cane as a result of a hip injury incurred the last time.

One important rationale for developing public housing for the aged in the inner city is based on the assumption and belief that it is basic to the survival of the elderly that they be near needed services and resources, which are usually located in the inner city. We would contend that a well-planned facility should provide these needed services on the premises, regardless of the location. This of course is not a new or "radical" idea, since many of the more recently developed senior citizen projects do, in fact, house basic health and welfare services. The issue is presented here, however, only to demonstrate the weakness of the rationale.

Another important rationale is based on the belief that the level of life satisfaction and social integration of the Black aged is dependent on continued proximity with old friends and familiar places. Some limited research has "confirmed" this assumption, particularly as it related to the Black people who have been involved in relocation efforts. Unfortunately, much of the research in this area has been based on samples of an age cross section of the Black population, or predominantly white aged populations and the findings have been inappropriately generalized to explain the social behavior and social needs of the Black elderly, as well. What is needed is research focusing on the Black elderly and the problems that are unique to them as a fact of race and age.

In the fee studies that have documented the assumption that the elderly Blacks choose to remain in the "old neighborhood," there is little consideration given to "less obvious" psychological reasons why. For example, an entire life time of hopelessness and frustration when they tried to get out of a bad situation; fear of continued discrimination in a new and different community; pure ignorance of what "better housing" is all about; or even an attitude that this is where Black people are supposed to live.

The literature also calls into question what I have termed "Banfield's myth of reality"—that all Black people enjoy the "excitement of the Ghetto" and do not want to leave, (Banfield, 1970). The exodus of young Blacks, who can afford it, to the suburbs tends to dispute this theory. There is the possibility, that the Black elderly would also choose to leave the inner city, if given the opportunity to do so, and would find life equally as satisfying, if not more so.

There are, in fact, a few projects for the elderly scattered in suburban areas. It would appear, however, from a very cursory observation in the Washington and Maryland suburbs that the tenants are predominantly white. Why? Have Blacks been screened out? Have they been rejected? Maybe they just have not been informed. Or maybe they rejected the location because they would not feel comfortable in such an environment. We don't have the answers to these questions but they certainly deserve investigation, before we continue planning.

A number of studies have documented the significant relationship between environment and the well-being of the aged. Yet, housing policies continue to be developed along the traditional "bricks and mortar" pattern, with little, if any humanism involved. In fact, it is really public housing policies that continue to be developed along traditional lines. This is certainly not true for the planning and development of residential facilities by the private sector for the economically secure older person, few of whom are Black.

When we consider the tremendous amount of attention in the field of gerontology that has been focused on retirement communities, it becomes apparent that we do, indeed, recognize the importance of environment to successful aging. We recognize it and give lip service to it but evidence very limited commitment to providing a wide range of environmental choices to meet the varying needs of the Black and the poor.

We do not challenge the assumption that some segments of the elderly Black community desire to remain in the inner city, for whatever reasons. And they should be allowed to do so in safety and dignity, in housing where security and services are provided. We do, however, challenge the assumption—based on ignorance, apathy, and certainly racism—that all old Black people form a homogeneous group who desire nothing more than what they have and would be unhappy in any environment other than the inner city ghetto. They have social and psychological needs as individuals that may or may not be met in the inner city environment. They should have the right to live elsewhere, if they so desire, and the right to have input in the planning of government subsidized housing for the elderly.

As in other areas of research in social gerontology, the Black aged have received very little attention in the environmental-behavior studies. Consequently, we are ignorant of how they really feel and how they are affected by a variety of living environments. We therefore, continue to make assumptions about the social and psychological needs of the elderly Black person. Based on a limited body of research, we determine that "all old Black people are happier in the old neighborhood," that "they will not relocate if given a choice," and that they want to live the life they have always lived." I am certain that more often than not, we use such data to rationalize and justify our actions which in truth are based on less noble motives.

Carp (1969) has stated very appropriately:

> In regard to preferences, it seems appropriate to check with those whose satisfaction is assumed. In regard to the immutability of causes, the possibility should be explored that concomitants of ethnic and social class background operate so consistently that their effects are mistaken for those ethnicity and social class, as such. Some of concomitants may be amenable to change. The inertial of separation and alienation may be due partly to "institutionalization of the ghetto," the codification of society's response to the slums. It has been pointed out that the very programs of housing, education, and welfare developed to assist those in the slums may serve to *keep them there.*

The present status and condition of elderly Blacks in public housing raises serious questions for the researcher and the planner in this area. A major issue becomes the location of such facilities, especially in light of current police reports that the evidence of crimes against the elderly in inner city neighborhoods is increasing. Two alternatives for action seem feasible; (1) the development of public housing for the elderly in more desirable residential city neighborhoods and in suburban communities; and (2) the provision of adequate services to assure a safe and protected environment for the aged residents of inner city public housing.

In either case it is very important that we preface any action with some viable research. We have already made too many assumptions and relied on too many myths about what old Black people want and need. But, we must begin to ask them about their preferences for living environments and location. We must develop a knowledge of the range of heterogeneity and adaptability that exists within the aged population who must depend on federally supported housing programs. They should not be penalized for being old, Black and poor.

For those who desire to remain in the inner city, we need to identify special needs for security and services, as well as architectural and physical facilities which enhance the quality of life for older tenants and make it possible for them to maintain their much prized independence.

It appears that we can accept willingly, the psychological and social implications of the retirement years and spend millions on the planning and construction of retirement communities, with emphasis on social planning, recreation, comfort, beauty, and convenience—for those who can afford it. The elderly Black and the poor have the same needs, yet they must retire to the ghetto tenement and live out their lives in fear and humiliation.

They may not choose to leave, but we must give them a choice.

Social Relationships

Social relationships of the Black aged are not identified as a problem area, but as an area of strength and support in a very hostile social system.

In the past, and to a substantial extent continuing in the present, social relationships of Blacks have been conditioned by the racist society in which we live. Interaction with the institutions and individuals of our social system has been constrained by prevailing attitudes, customs and even legal structures, especially in the past. Although some relaxation of these restrictive conditions began to seem possible in the decades of the 1950's and 1960's, a second nadir has emerged in the 1970's.

Frustration of the hopes of Blacks tentatively raised by the limited progress of the youth and young adults, often through acts of overt hostility, but more often by increased determination and redoubled efforts to achieve the goal of first class citizenship. They knew that for them there remained substantial years ahead to accomplish their objectives. But often for the aged Blacks, the situation reinforced accustomed detrimental attitudes of resignation to second class citizenship.

For any Black man or woman, now 65 years or older, the attitudes, behavior and life expectations reflect the circumstances and conditions prevailing the United States during his or her formative years. The vast majority of Blacks born in the first decade of this century or earlier, grew up in a society which afforded limited and inferior educational opportunities; restricted housing in ghetto areas of cities or rural slums; reliance on folk medicine because of inadequate or totally absent medical resources and lack of financial resources to utilize any which might be available; the expectation of employment in only the most menial jobs at substandard wages—often uncertain of tenure; and all the other characteristic qualities of life for Blacks in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries.

Within this framework of adverse life experiences, the wonder is that so many elderly Blacks have demonstrated stamina and coping capacities which may serve as inspiration to their children and grandchildren. Past social research into patterns of social relationships, particularly those of the Black family, have emphasized only the pathological aspects of its life with no—or very limited—recognition that the earlier social system (of which they were only a restricted part) was responsible for most of the apparent pathologies. In his preface to Robert Hill's book *The Strengths of Black Families,* Vernon Jordan, the Executive Director of the National Urban League, says:

> The myths . . . are familiar to all; that the Black family is "matriarchal," it is unstable, it does not prepare Black people for productive lives, and is the

> prime source of Black economic weakness. These myths have moved from discredited folklore to the respectability of learned scholarly papers . . . Worse still, they have become acceptable to those who determine public policy . . .

These past products of "scholarly" research have been primarily the work of white social scientists who have viewed the Black man, his environment and social relationships as phenomena separate and apart from the totality of American life and its historical evolution. Fortunately, corrective and more accurate presentations are emerging from a new school of social researchers, most of them young, Black, articulate, sophisticated, and brilliant. Among these, the contributions of Dr. Robert Hill, author of *The Strengths of Black Families* and Dr. Andrew Billingsley, author of *Black Families in White America,* and other works, are setting the record straight and providing the true and needed positive orientation for our examination of the social relationships of Blacks in the United States not only with other Blacks but with members of the larger society.

Dr. Billingsley, in his examination of the "Black Family as a Social System" observes that:

> Negro families have been . . . conspicuously shaped by social forces in the American environment.
>
> Principal among the subsystems of the larger society which have a direct impact on family life are the values, the political, the economic, the educational, the health, and the communications subsystems, Negroes have been systematically excluded from active and equal participation in each of these major subsystems of the larger society, yet all the while have been heavily influenced by them. Another important fact is that the exclusion of Negroes from the definition and the resources of these subsystems has not been uniform.

Elderly Blacks in particular, epitomize strengths of Blacks which have persisted despite rigid exclusionary practices in the "definition and the resources of (the) subsystems." Hill enumerates special strengths of Black families as: 1) adaptability of roles; 2) strong kinship ties; 3) strong religious orientation; 4) strong work orientation; and 5) strong achievement orientation.

Perhaps influenced by the rigors and circumscribed conditions of their early lives, older Blacks cling tenaciously to old friends and remote relations. Even poverty does not serve as an excuse for not sharing their meager resources with others near and dear to them. They also often show unusual adaptability and warmth of relationship toward recently formed friendships in senior center clubs and groups of neighbors in public housing projects. The director of one such group in a public housing project told of an old Black man in the group who ingeniously undertook to serve his neighbors who were recipients of social security benefits or public assistance. Difficulty in cashing checks and fear for personal safety in the high crime area in which the project was located, impelled the old man to arrange for a police escort to the bank for himself on "check receiving" days. He meticulously collected his neighbors checks, giving each a receipt, and placed each check in a separate envelop. With his police escort, he cashed all the checks and returned the cash to each recipient. (He also took care to have a neighbor accompany him and witness the return of each person's cash.) Although the perspicacity of this old man might have been unusual, his warmth and generosity toward his peers was not.

The quality of sharing with friends is even more discernable with family and even remote relatives. Undoubtedly the awareness of common disadvantages and of a hostile larger society was a factor in drawing the members of this older generation close together. The percentage of older Black female headed families with larger number of children in the home is proportionately greater than the same category of whites. Of course, it is probably that economic circumstances are the major cause, but the closeness of kinship ties in the Black family is a factor not to be overlooked.

Little needs to be said about the Black church as a vehicle for social relationships. The Black church has from the days of slavery been the strongest social force among older Blacks. In the days of plantation living, church going was usually the only permissable avenue of group activity of Blacks. Hence the Black church became not only a means of spiritual sustenance but a major—and often the only—outlet for social relationships. For elderly Blacks today it often plays the same role. Even with the emergence of larger resources made possible under the terms of the Older Americans Act, church sponsored facilities such as meal service programs, friendly visitors, recreation activities and transportation are often most successful where the older Blacks, especially those of low income are concerned.

Notwithstanding the hardships and disadvantages imposed upon older Black Americans, they have shown remarkable strength and resiliency in the face of adversity. Of course, there is the same diversity among them as for other groups and it is a mistake to regard older Blacks as a homogeneous group. It is remarkable, however, that in the light of obstacles and hindrances, so much creativity and leadership have been demonstrated among them. DuBois, with his now famous identification of the "talented tenth," recognized the heterogeniety of the Black population and called upon that small but gifted and relatively privileged group to exercise leadership. The challenge and the history of the Black man in America abounds with illustrations of high level achievement by members of the group, both before, during and after DuBois' pronouncement. The current exhibit at Washington's National Portrait Gallery focuses on "The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution 1770-1800," and affords dramatic proof of substantial contributions from Black men and women of that period.

Continuing into the present era, ample evidence exists to demonstrate sustained and unselfish talent sharing. Among those offering role models for Negro youth today may be noted such giants as Dr. Benjamin Mays, A. Philip Randolph and Lawrence C. Jones the "Little Professor of Piney Woods." Women, too, are in these ranks; witness the contributions of Mary McLeod Bethune and earlier notables such as Ida B. Wells and Janie Porter Barrett.

All of these, and others unsung, reinforce Dr. Hill's thesis that Black families, despite deprivation and the necessity of continuing struggle, do indeed afford a reservoir of strength. Exploration into the lives and times of these early strugglers for democracy and equality offers a fruitful field of endeavor for multi-disciplinary research for social researchers, especially the Black professionals whose responsibility is to "set the record straight."

Summary

An attempt has been made to highlight some of the major problems from which aged Blacks suffer, but also to focus on major strengths which may be brought to bear for corrective purposes. It has only been in recent years that aging has commanded the prominent attention of researchers in a variety of fields, and the Black aged are still very much ignored as a unique minority of the elderly population.

It is the very uniqueness of the experience of the Black elderly in America that makes research such a critical issue. We have only touched upon a few of the many problems and concerns that confront the Black elderly and undermine their chances to grow old in dignity and comfort. The most basic problems related to income maintenance and housing are further reflected in poor nutrition, poor physical and mental health, increased vulnerability, and high mortality. Even in the area of social relationships, which has provided a haven of hope for the many Black aged, we still find pockets of old Black people in "geriatric ghettos" who live out their lives in loneliness and isolation.

It is evident from the limited data and research that is available that much action is needed to remove the disparities that exist in this society for aged Blacks. It is further evident that such action must be preceded by relevant research, because action in the face of ignorance has invariably done more harm than good.

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THE SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK CHILDREN: PRIORITIES FOR RESEARCH

by

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Research on socialization of the Black child is needed from a Black perspective. Socialization is a difficult task, especially for the Black child. Socialization is defined as the process whereby a society molds a new born, self-centered baby into a functional adult. He must learn the dominant values of the society. The parents, acting as the agents of socialization, oversee the process. The Black child has a double developmental task: (1) to become part of the dominent culture; and (2) to internalize the values of the Black community.

Before we study the socialization of the Black child, there are four tasks we must do: (1) Develop our own theories; (2) Develop research skills; (3) Disseminate our knowledge to the general population; and (4) Re-examine our roles as Black researchers. Once we have accomplished these tasks, then we should address the key variables of the socialization process.

Re-examination of Old Developmental Theories for Bias Against the Black Child.

In the past, the Black child has been seen from various viewpoints as: (a) non-existent; (b) genetically inferior; (c) culturally deprived; (d) socially disadvantaged. The latest view is: (e) to see him from a bi-cultural view which has some danger, for even though the Black culture is seen as existing, it still is not viewed as a valid dominant culture. In the end, the culturally different view has the same result, for the White children are still the normative idea. All of these views placed blame on the child or family for lack of academic success, not on the system. Lack of achievement was said to result from failures in the socialization process. The family was stereotyped as being authoritarian, punitive, and lax in its supervision of the child (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1963; Bettelheim, 1964). These theories have been accepted as gospel to this day.

The Need to Check the Empirical Base of Theories

All valid theories must have an empirical base. A theory should reflect reality; however, we find that few socialization theories are based on hard data.

One finds that theories on infants have come from working with adults or other mammals. The most influential theory of this type would be Freud's theory on infant sexuality, which was constructed from the clinical studies of adults. According to Burton White (1971), the greater portion of that theory has never been confirmed by direct studies of representative populations of infants. White states that only two theories on the very young child are grounded in studies of babies. These theories are: (1) Piaget's theory of evolution of intelligence; and, (2) Gesell's concept of patterns of development. If there is no empirical base relevant for the psychoanalytical theories when these theories are extended to the Black child, they are even further from reality. Only a few well done cross-sectional or longitudinal studies have been done on the Black child.

There have been even fewer experimental or naturalistic observational studies. Once we have examined the old socialization theories and have begun to develop research skills, we must then begin to build a theory.

Task of Theory Building
Begun by Presenting Hypothesis

Theory building must be based on our own experiences in the Black community. These experiences, however, may contradict our search of the literature as shown in my study of self-concept in Mississippi. I had hypothesized that Black preschool children growing up in an all Black southern community would have good self-concepts, in fact, more positive self-concepts than those growing up in Northern integrated settings. However, I was unable to find literature to support this intuitive hypothesis. When I wrote my proposal, I had to state carefully that although the literature indicated that Black children had lower self-concepts than normal, and that Southern children had lower self-concepts than Northern children, I expected to find the opposite. Fortunately, my hypothesis was supported. In later additional research (McAdoo, 1973), I have gathered data which supports the hypothesis that Black children are able to develop good self-concepts.

Building a Data Base

We need to build up empirical baseline data on various aspects of Black parenting. When one shares his findings with others, such as we are doing this week, he is helping to build a data base. This free exchange of information is vitally needed between Black researchers across the country and here at Howard, for we don't know what is going on in the other departments. This also holds true for Blacks at other institutes. This sharing of ideas and data is invaluable in the development of our research. Again, drawing on the work my husband, John McAdoo (1970) and I (1970) have been conducting in race attitude and race attitudes, two other Black researchers have been thinking and working in this area, Margaret Spencer in Chicago (Personal Communications, 1973) and our speaker for this afternoon, Bill Cross of Princeton (Personal Communications, 1973). We became aware of their work completely by accident. Our exchanges with them have been exciting and beneficial.

We need to continue the Black Caucus activities in our individual professional organizations. Conferences such as this are a great aid in expanding our beginning pool of knowledge with other Black researchers. Only where a solid empirical baseline has been developed can we evolve objective theories sensitive to the Black family.

Next Step: Test Hypothesis

If our data support our hypotheses and findings in different settings and different researchers also support them, then and only then will we begin to have sound theories that can stand up to peer examination.

We cannot examine theories and studies from a basis of ignorance. Blacks must move beyond being consumers of research and become the producers. We must go from reacting to the research of others to creating our own.

Development of Black Research Skills

Programs such as our Urban Educational Researchers Training Institute and the Institute of Urban Affairs are serving this function. These institutes are in the early developmental state, but serve as good outlets for the Black researcher. For the new students and the research trainees, the awful mysticism about research needs to be dispelled. One should instill a sense of fun and adventure into research to make it an exciting experience. For one can use the imagination to turn the computer into a dumb animal, that will only do as you command. Once the fear has been removed, then the student is ready to develop a research design and set the whole cycle of research into action.

One quickly learns that there is no such thing as a bias-free design in research, for the person's own bias is written into the design. Even in data collection, one's unconscious motives come in to play, leaving an impact on the outcome of the data.

Researchers need to examine the census tract data and explore the rich supply of historical data available. Several sources of historical data are found in the National Archives, or in the slave narratives and can be obtained through oral histories. All of this information provides us with a proper view of how Black children are socialized.

The last and the most important aspect of the process in research is synthesis to interpret the data. This is the one point in the research cycle in which biases are openly allowed. We need to translate research findings into everyday language. Our theories and terms should be so clear that a parent on the firing line of raising children can read it.

Dissemination of Research Findings

The results should be made accessible to the general public. Just as some of the best articles on child research can be found in *Redbook* or in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine section, so too should Black magazines be filled with our most up to date information. *Essence* has begun to do this. However, we need a Black Dr. Spock to provide the Black community with the newest data on socialization of the Black child. Parents need to be able to read about early puberty, the role of the afro combs to the Black fellow; or white girl-Black boy relationships.

Here are some facts on just one subject, feeding of the infant, that are quite important to Blacks: (1) That feeding solid foods to a baby before he is three months should be discouraged, because reports show that the brain cells may be stimulated if fed too early, and this could lead to later obesity and that the high salt content in baby food may be connected to later hypertension; (2) *Ebony* recently devoted time to the fact that hypertension is the greatest killer of Blacks; (3) The Black male has a higher rate of cancer, which may be connected to nutrition. These are areas that are only now being explored, and the findings are not all inclusive. Yet, Black parents should be made aware of these possible relationships in order that they could be able to make choices in some of their child rearing practices.

Once we have accomplished the tasks of developing our own theories, and research skills, and disseminated our knowledge to the general population, then we need to re-examine our roles as researchers.

We need to look at our own actions, for there are a few of us who have been swept into the role of the "instant experts." These are usually the researchers who are recent Ph.D.'s and who have just made a paper presentation or recently published a paper or book. Some of them have been pushed into sudden fame and asked to tour the country, give speeches, sit on panels, or appear on television. They have received the royal treatment; involving going on consultant trips, which means good money, lots of travel, a great deal of prestige and a good deal of ego tripping. It is interesting to note just how many of these "one book wonders" have gone on to write that second book, or next research project. Only a very few "instant experts" have written the second article, based on ***empirical data.***

The urban hustler that we see so often in the poverty stricken projects has swept many Black rsearchers down the wrong avenue. Then there are those researchers who have the skills and haven't put them to use. We need position papers that are grounded in empirical data, rather than opinions.

Many Blacks have taken the juicy administrative jobs, that pay handsomely; though more than likely, the illusion of power is even better than the money. We cannot allow our creative energies and skills to become rusty because of the day-to-day frustration of program development or institutional building.

We need to answer the following questions: (1) Who will do the research? (2) Who will do the interpretation of the data? (3) Who will translate our findings to the popular mass? Black research is very rare, and as researchers, the decisions that we make may be our greatest contribution to society.

Once we have re-examined our roles as researchers, we should address the key variables of the socialization process. We have to look at the key essence of socialization, and that is the parent-child interaction. In looking at the impact of the family structure upon socialization, we realized the importance of the famiy. We have to look at the different structures that are found among Blacks. For instance, we have that approximately 60-75 percent of our Black homes have both a mother and a father present, with many of these families being of the extended form. You probably are aware of the fact that in the psychological literature, having more than one care taker within the family, or multiple mothering, is considered to be very detrimental to the child. We need to go into the home, and examine the affects of multiple mothering, to see it if destroys the parent-child primary relationship, or whether in fact the child is able to differentiate between his primary and secondary socializers. We need to look at the impact of those extra members living within the family. If they are taken away, would the Black family, even with a mother and father there be able to cope with the impression that it gets outside. Is it not that the extra person, whether it is an aunt or grandmother, who is there occasionally or all the time, is necessary for the family to function?

There is a need to examine the differential impact of income levels upon social development. The majority of research has been devoted to the most depressed Black family groups, however, we must study families and children from all levels. If there are more Blacks becoming middle class, despite the fact that the great majority are not, then we should look at the child-rearing practices of a family as it moves up the economic ladder. We want to know if there are child-rearing practices which differ between a family that has just moved up, and a family that has been middle class for several generations. In other words, these are reasons to examine the social economic differences in child-rearing practices to see if it continues over generations.

We need to look at how families obtain upward mobility. Some researchers, such as Billingsley (1969), have said that it is the extended family, rather than the kinship family that helps certain members move up through the screens of opportunity. Others have found that a person who has been able to break away from the extended family and break the reciprocal ties, is better able to make the upward mobility. We need to examine those views closely because they are almost completely opposite opinions. Maybe those views are running parallel. Maybe both are in play at the same time. We need to look at the effect on socializing a child to break away from the family versus socializing the child to be interdependent, or dependent on other members of the family. There is a difference when you do that.

We have to look at the impact of the one-parent family, for whatever reason, historical, cultural, or economic. Approximately ¼ of our Black families are headed by mothers, and we know that women who head families are more vulnerable. They are more vulnerable to social and economic problems and they earn less. Hill (1971) felt the vulnerability was the key word, not pathology, in looking at this family. We also know that Black women are more likely to work than White women, even after marriage. About 80% of our Black women work, and even the educated ones earn less than their White counterpart. What impact does this have on the family? What accommodations must be made for this mother-absence, which may be even more crucial than the alleged father-absence? Other factors obviously compensate for the official absence of the fathers. We need to look at the universal maternal employment. Another defense for the Black females, whether she is heading a family or whether she is working to support it in cooperation with a father, could be that it is expected that Black males and Black females work. We do not have the luxury of socializing our girls to be housewives. On the contrary, we socialize our girls with the idea that they will be going out to work. There is a difference from the norm of the White group. This would make a mother better prepared if she does face the problem of having to support her family. We know that many of our Black women will not get married, or those who do get married will have to maintain the home themselves. With the shorter life span, this could result in an early death of her husband in which case she will have a longer period of widowhood than that of Whites. She should be equipped to handle this alone.

Many Black women are more likely to succeed than Whites, and we feel it is because of the strong extended family. The Black woman may be more likely to get support from other members of the family, thus allowing her to go out into the world of work, and still maintain that family. Is the child harmed? Is he handicapped when he competes in school with a White child whose mother was present? How does the high maternal work rate impact the male-female relationship?

Are there socialization problems and processes that should be encouraged? Are there some that should be discouraged? At this point, we are not in a position to answer that. We need more research done on the family.

The extended family exists in certain forms that have been affected by urbanization with its high mobility, and small apartments. The lack of care in the urban city will destroy part of the extended family. However, if this extended family form is protective of the Black child, then maybe we can extend it into the industrial setting. Mainly, we are talking about families who adopt an older person who lives in the neighborhood even though he is not connected by blood. This may be a way of augmenting the nuclear family because we know that the nuclear family is probably the most isolated family style that exists. There are many tensions that exist and must be dealt with when a mother and a father are both working. They may need the experience of an older person; they need an extra hand.

Some of the detrimental affects of having a home headed by the mother have not been substantiated. While we know the importance of the father figure is crucial, some of the functions are being carried out by other people. In my own work in Mississippi, Washington and Michigan, I did not find the expected detrimental impact on certain variables in my research that resulted from the mother heading the home versus the mother and the father heading the home. I found no significant differences between children from these two family types, on racial attitudes, self-concepts, racial identification, or I.Q. I did not find a difference in the sexual attitude that I really had expected.

Another variable we have to look at is the development of racial attitudes in self-concepts. Most of you are very much aware of the data that claims that the Black child hates his own race, and therefore he hates himself. My husband and I have studied this in three geographic groups. My husband and I have been concerned with curriculum models and operant conditioning to promote more positive race attitudes and the development of positive self-images. I have looked specifically at the self-concept, and have found good, strong, healthy examples. The data were collected in three settings: Mississippi, Michigan and Washington, D.C. The results indicated that the average self-concept for all groups was positive. In two years of data collection in Washington, D.C., I have found that the children have maintained a good, strong, self-image and have shown significant increase in self-concepts. I have found that there is no relationship between racial attitudes and self-concept. I was surprised that these kids are able to feel good about themselves, even though they need the societal preference for Whites. The main difference between our data and the data that Clark and many other people found earlier is that the Whites and Blacks hated blackness at the same level. Now we are finding that these kids are moving toward greater acceptance of their own blackness. So there have been problems. The kids are not as positive toward their blackness as we would like to have them be, but they are much more positive than earlier research indicates.

John McAdoo (1970) has worked a great deal on the modification of racial attitudes. He has done some very interesting things on negative reinforcement and positive reinforcement. He's developed a Black Consciousness curriculum for pre-school which is attempting to change the racial attitudes for the kids. John found that it was possible to modify the Black attitudes toward their own race group. In doing this, he found a greater change in the desired direction through the use of negative reinforcement. In one experiment, he gave the kids ten pennies and took away a penny everytime the child gave a positive response to white, and they actually changed their attitudes. We found out that giving candy each time they said something positive to Blacks didn't work as well. Maybe money is a much more powerful modifier than candy for the Black child.

We have to look at the high rate of Black adoption. We have talked already about the kids being adopted into the Black family in an informal way. Approximately 90% of all Black babies who are born out of wedlock are adopted within some family. However, in 1970, of the 6,000 Black kids officially adopted, 2,300 were adopted into White homes, 1/3 of the children were adopted officially through agencies in that year and went into White homes. Now many professional groups have come out against this, but we have to deal with kids who are now in these homes. We can't just forget them. Eventually when they grow up, they will return to the Black community and we need to do research in this area to find out what effect this has on a Black child when he grows up in a White home. These will be Black children who have socialized as Whites.

We have tried to do some research in this area in examining racial attitudes of these kids. We've had a great deal of difficulty because parents do not want you to come into their homes. We don't have the leverage that an adoption agency has when they can do a follow-up. All we can do is ask them may we come into your home; may we test your kids; may we ask you questions, and almost universally the answer is no. The greatest difficulty came from the Black father who was married to the White female. He refused to let us in the house. Occasionally, a Black father would say yes to letting us enter his house, and the minute we walked in we were thrown out. This is something that most of us cannot deal with. Also many of the White couples refused to let us in because they said their kids were not aware of race and that we would only be introducing something that would contaminate them. Most of the children were six years old. Studies have shown that by the age of three, children are aware of race, and they have developed their racial preferences by the age of four. Once they reach the age of six, they are either very racist, or they have positive racial attitudes. So these parents are being unrealistic in their views of the impact of race on their children. These children need to be followed up.

The last thing I would like to discuss is the political socialization of the Black child and you. Socialization is a process and a product. The process is the way in which youth are introduced to certain political attitudes, behaviors, and roles. The product would be the belief that the child holds about the political system. The Black youth has to examine this political system that works in America and decide that system is working for him. If he determines that the Bill of Rights has nothing to do with him, he loses his fantasy and idealization of the government, and of the people who are in the government. This new realization could end alienation, which was referred to yesterday as the alienation from the political process. We need to look at ways in which the kids form these attitudes, and create ways in which we can get the kids to feel that they do have a degree of control in the political setting. We must develop a method that will make the child feel that he is a powerful person who eventually has an impact on his environment; that he is not only a victim of the racist system. So, we know that political socialization is an experience of frustration. The Black militancy of today could be a response to this frustration. Instead of becoming frustrated and turned off, many Blacks are becoming militant and thus involved in their setting.

Finally, we must examine the parent-child interaction. This is a crucial focus of all socialization. There is a great deal of clinical experimental data out on parental behavior and its influence on the child. Once again, only a few of these studies are based on direct observation of the child in his home. Often the use of mother's reports of father's behavior has proven to be highly unreliable. We need more naturalistic observations. The mother-child relationship is a cornerstone of socialization. The strength of the Black mother has been made to appear psychological for Blacks.

One area that we have not looked at is the interaction between the father and the child. There is an area that has virtually been ignored in the White literature. This could be a result of the father's lack of availability and his unwillingness to cooperate. Most fathers don't like to be interviewed, especially by strange people in their homes. Another problem rested on the researchers for they preferred to work during the light of day in hopes of avoiding the inner-city nights. Most of the fathers worked during the day and were not available for interviews. Therefore, we have an almost vacular knowledge of what goes on between fathers and their babies.

What goes on between the father and the teenager? We only have an idea of what happens once the child becomes delinquent. Once he goes to court you can do a case study on him. There has not been a research project that sent a researcher into the Black home to observe the father and son from the Black perspective. A few researchers have gone into the home. However, their studies were very biased in some of the emphasis and interpretations that they made from the data. The Black father serves as more than an identification model. His role is much more complex with the many possible interactions with the child. His interactions are time limited but very powerful. We must not let our stereotypes about the Black father or of the Black male blind us to the intensive impact that the father has on the child. We are just beginning to get a little bit of data. However, this is one area that really needs a lot of attention.

We need to look at the differential socialization of Black boys and Black girls. One of our key developmental tasks is to reach our manhood, or to reach our womanhood. One of the greatest controversies as far as I am concerned, is the relationship between Black males and Black females. Social scientists have not aided us at all. The stereotype, not widely accepted, is that we have a passive aggressive male who is dominated by a castrating female. Thus, the Black male is seen to turn to the White female for relief from his negative interaction with the Black female. There is an on-going conflict whether it is real or just imagined. It is due to the socialization that we give our boys and socialization that we give our girls. Research is needed to answer the following questions: (1) Do these conflicts actually exist? (2) Are the stereotypes accurate or are they just an extension of biased research? (3) What child-rearing practices produce these individuals? (4) What effect will the social economical status have on the male-female roles? (5) Is it because it is too close to us to prevent us from stepping back and actually examining the problem? If our family patterns do have different forms, then we must socialize our kids to fit these forms.

The two basic questions are as follows: (1) What is the ideal Black male and what is the ideal Black female?; and (2) What socialization practices are needed to encourage the meeting of this ideal? It is very important that we look at the male-female interaction for two reasons. First, because the relationship between the man and woman within the family is the end result of their socialization process and second, because it is the arena in which the next generation of Black children will be socialized.

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SOCIALIZATION OF THE BLACK MALE: RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

by
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The question "Who am I?" is and has always been a question man has asked himself. The answer he usually accepts is one which enhances his self-concept and, thereby, ensures his psychological survival. If his answer, however, is not one with which he feels comfortable, two possible alternatives come to mind: he contemplates suicide or he approaches all other problems in human relations with predictable ambivalence, uncertainty and sometimes cynicism. The various roles the Black man adopts as he socializes his off-spring often resemble the latter.

This paper explores the socialization process of the Black male in the American Society. After a brief discussion of the socialization of Black males from a historical perspective, I will examine the role that social and behavioral scientists have played in promoting negative stereotypes about Black people. Also, considerable attention will be given to specific factors which condition the socialization process for Black male. The final section will include some suggestions and guidelines for future research in this important area.

Socialization Roles for Survival: A Historical Perspective

The African Background

Ancestors of the American Negro came from many tribes and many cultures on the West Coast of Africa. These varied tribes had no common tongue, no "lingue Africana." There was no such thing as "the African personality," since the varied groups differed as much in their way of life as in the physical characteristics they exhibited, and in the languages they spoke.[1]

The family was the political unit and usually it was patriarchal. This social system was a well organized one in which the individual experienced a deep sense of group identity. As we shall see, a feeling of belonging was a short lived one for those Africans enslaved and brought to America.

Slavery

The horrors of the slave society in America almost stripped the Black man of his masculinity. However, having a strong will to survive, the Black man *socialized* his off-spring to act in the way he believed to be in his best interest. Hence, he tended to feign servility and wore the mask of humility adopting a child's posture, and gave the impression of being attached to the master and utterly dependent upon him. He tended, or pretended to be a bit stupid. This was another aspect of his technique for survival. His apathetic gaze was self-protective; it was dangerous to know too much.[2]

This role also enabled him to strike at the slavery system in many ways–from slowing his work to abusing the livestock and damaging the farm implements. Other techniques included destroying property by fire, feigning illness, occasionally laming himself to avoid work, and expressing his dissatisfaction through stories and songs.

After Reconstruction

After the Civil War, Blacks were optimistic and felt they could discontinue their survival roles of idleness and ignorance. Indeed, the Negro enjoyed, for a short period of time, a sense of well-being, a sense of freedom, and sense of manhood. However, Southers moved to reshackle the Negro with a series of "Black Codes."[3] These codes left the Black man at the mercy of the white man. Moreover, the Negro became the white man's whipping boy, a scapegoat. In getting a job and making a living, the Negro was particularly discriminated against during the Reconstruction Period. (Rayford W. Logan has laconically characterized this period as the "nadir"). Landers without a way to secure a loan, and with no Freedman's Bureau to guide him, the Southern Negro became a share tenant or a sharecropper. Because of the way the sharecropping system was instituted by racist whites, the Black man became a serf to the soil. He was forced to readapt his former role of *inefficient* laborer for survival.

The plight of the city Negro was equally as difficult. Once labor federations abandoned their original policy of non-discrimination on the basis of color, Negro males were forced to become "scab" (strikebreakers) in order to provide for their families.

World Wars I and II

Black families encouraged their sons to enlist in the military during World Wars I and II because they believed they would have grounds for demanding better treatment after serving their country. Military service offered the Black male a chance to disprove the stereotype of racial inferiority and to demonstrate his manhood. However, because of the climate in the United States, young Black boys continued to be socialized to behave in a fashion that was not offensive to whites despite how they felt internally about their roles.

The 50's and 60's

Tired of being denied equal rights, Black Americans took to the streets in the 1950's and 1960's to demonstrate for equal rights. The entire Black family took part in this display of dissatisfaction. Young Black males were given male models of strength and determination; racial pride was expressed in hair styles, costume and dress, and in the adoption of a new name. (Many Blacks stopped using the word "Negro" which they found to be a relic of the Atlantic slave trade and, hence, paternalistic.)

Images of the Black Male

Authentic images of the Black man have not been projected by the media. White Americans stereotyped Blacks in broadly denigrative categories. Consequently, Blacks have been compelled to take a defensive posture and present less than authentic images of themselves on the white man's terms for their own psychological survival.

The White Media

Both fictional and non-fictional literature are powerful attitude "shapers." Between these, the Black man has been portrayed in such hostile terms that it will take several generations concertingly projecting positive images of the Black man before the present expedient one is long forgotten, if that, indeed, is possible.

A review of the vast bulk of American literature until the 1930's reveals that the literary Black has been incarcerated in such tightly restrictive categories as: the contented slave; the brute nigger; the comic Negro; the tragic Mulatto and the exotic primitive. These stereotypes, whether flattering or denigrative, are marked by exaggerations or omissions. All stress the Negro's divergences from white Anglo-Saxon norms, and are, consciously or unconsciously, pressed into the service of justifying racial proscription.[4]

Many stories, anecdotes, poems and cartoons refer to the Negro male as "nigger," "niggah," "darkey," "coon," "uncle," "buck," "light complected-yaller man." He is further lampooned by the bestowal of such outrageous names as "Mr. Napoleon Jackson, Esquire," familiarly known as "Poleon," Epaphrodies Plumer, Neuralgia and Homidice.

Virtually every derogatory stereotype is affixed upon the Negro. He is made to appear superstitious, dull and stupid, imitative (and, hence, not creative), ignorant, suspicious, happy-go-lucky, improvident, lazy, immoral, criminal; he is a liar, a thief, a drunkard.

Articles in a serious vein probably did more harm to the Negro than did the fictional literature. While some of the articles defended him, most argued against accepting him as an equal citizen.[5]

From 1920 to about 1945, the image most projected of the Black male was that of the servant or comedian. He was superstitious, cowardly, servile, obsequious, good-natured, and inferior. White writers, producers and directors constructed Black roles primarily to fit stereotyped "Black boys" carrying white men's luggage, Black natives sneaking around the jungle, Black dancers doing a buck and wing.[6]

Traditionally, but especially during the 50's, the white press conveyed false impressions of the Black male in the way it selected news items about him. Instead of reporting news about the Negro male's altruism, for example, the white press dominated the news with Negro crime. This press chose not to report the stability, as well as the instraility, of the Negro family. Seldom, if ever, were Black workers revealed to be responsible, efficient, and hard working as were white workers.

During the 1960's, the white media, when providing public service or advertisement, adopted what Dore Schary calls the "Black is white formula" a transformation in the qualities attributed to Negro from everything the white man despises to everything he admires.[7] Thus, for fearful subservence and mindless good nature, we substituted vitality and good looks, upward mobility and family stability, hard work and material success. The exceptions can be counted. The message that comes across all too often is that "Blacks are fine *provided* they display the traditional white middle-class values.[8] The white majority wins again because the Black man, the underdog, is compelled to defend the images projected of him on the ground dictated by the white majority.

The Black Media

In addition to being forced to take a defense posture when defining image, the Black man was socialized by the white man to believe all the many vile images he projected of him. Consequently, the Black man's chief medium of communication, the Black press, created and perpetuated a world of make-believe for Black people, mainly the Black bourgeoisie.

Up to the late 50's, E. Franklin Frazier stated that the Black press revealed the inferiority complex of the Black bourgeoisie and provided a documentation of the attempt of this class to seek compensation for its hurt self-esteem and exclusion from American life.[10] Article after article exaggerated the economic well-being and cultural achievements of Blacks and Negro society became a world of "make-believe."[11] Advertisements in Black magazines pushed straightening hair and using bleaching cream for both sexes as major weapons in the Negro fight for social acceptability and psychological comfort.

Determined to shatter the rigid, stultifying mold, Blacks in the past decade decided to develop a novel cluster of identifying concepts to build a new image, employing such adjectival notions as "militant," "aggressive," and Black is beautiful." Both Black and white media projected this image.

Arthur L. Smith suggests that the vast significance of the redefinition process is in Blacks' restructuring of reality "with Black men at the center." To accomplish this, as Smith points out, they employ a "reverse rhetoric."

> "Whereas most anthropological and sociological works by white authors describe the Black man in comparison to the white man, the Black revolutionists reverse the process. Their rhetoric suggests that, compared to the Black man, the average white man exhibits the following physical traits: head slightly less than elegant, nose less well developed, lips not so full and hair stringy. The intent of this rhetoric is to get on the offensive by defining one's world in relationship to one's self, as indeed the Black revolutionists insist the white man has done for five hundred years."[12]

In fictional literature, Blacks now depict the "Negro-ness of being a Negro.[13] In the past this was frowned upon by the Black middle-class in their frenzied dash toward the precipice of the American main stream. With the new stance of the Black media, hopefully, once the new Black image(s) is implanted, members will begin modeling themselves along the lines of the new definition, the new adjectival clusters: Black children becoming proud, even militant; Black males assuming positions of power, etc.

Social and Behavioral Scientists Extend Stereotypic Images

Three documents which social scientists and theorists frequently quote when proving Blacks deviate from the white norms are Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States*, Daniel P. Moynihan's *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action*, commonly referred to as the new Moynihan Report, and Arthur Jensen's "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" These publications whether they were written for that purpose or not, have promoted negative images of the Negro family and/or the Negro people. A brief summary of these works should provide support for my contention.

E. Franklin Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939) was a response to the condemnation of Negro family life by white researchers. Frazier asserted that the matriarchy and illegitimacy of the Negro family were adaptation to social and economic conditions. However, he unfortunately concluded, as did the white researchers, that the Negro family was a *weak* one. The abandoned mothers, the raving men, the sexually experienced youth —were bad. The only thing that was good were the mothers, (in conditions that should never existed) who did their best for the children.

Some 26 years later, white sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan reached similar conclusions as did Frazier about the Negro family. However, the two differed in their conclusions about how the family could be made stable. Moynihan drew the following conclusions about the Negro family:

1. It is weak, and unstable, tending towards a matriarchal form;
2. It's present status is rooted in the experience of slavery;
3. Unemployment has maintained the distortions in Negro family life;
4. The weakened Negro family produces children, especially sons, who are so damaged by their family experience that they are unable to profit from educational and employment opportunities;
5. The ending of Negro equality and poverty will not and cannot be achieved, until something is done to *strengthen* and *stabilize* the Negro family.[14]

Thus, Moynihan reinforced the stereotypes of the Black male. Moreover, given the obvious problems of the Negro family, Moynihan made no attempt to examine the positive aspects of the Negro family. Ignored are such strengths as those noted by Robert Hill in his book *Strengths of the Black Family.*

With his "How Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Arthur Jensen revived the heredity vs. environment controversy. Jensen stated that the term 'intelligence' should be referred to as the general factor common to standard tests of intelligence (i.e. the capacity to reason abstractly and solve problems).[15] He also noted that . . . "Since intelligence is basically dependent on the structural biochemical properties of the brain, it should not be surprising that differences in intellectual capacity are partly the result of genetic factors which conform to the same principles involved in the inheritance of physical characteristics."[16] Elsewhere in his article, Jensen pointed out that genes affecting high IQ appear more frequently in whites than Blacks. Also, he concluded (using Shuey's data) that Negroes test one standard deviation (15 IQ points) below the average white population in IQ. Thus, the failure of recent compensatory education efforts to produce lasting increased effects on Negro children's IQ and achievement tests should be examined from a different perspective, namely, that of heredity.

Thus, Jensen reinforced the stereotype of the Negro being mentally slow. Upon close examination, one also finds that in comparing IQ test scores between whites and Blacks, Jensen claimed to account for the environmental deprivation of Black children. One must wonder how environmental conditions can be accounted for in a valid statistical way.

Growing Up

The development of the self is a transactional process between the developing organism and its changing social environment. In other words, the child creates for himself a world of meaning from his experiences with his own body and his social milieu. Traditionally in America, the social institution which assists and encourages this development the most is the *family*. Specifically, according to Ritchie and Koller, the family has eight identifiable functions in relation to child rearing: to serve as a culture carrier; to interpret and simplify a complex world; to discipline; to protect; to give freedom to explore; to help solve problems; to provide pleasant family living; and in sum, to develop personalities.[17]

Most psychologists would agree that the essence of this socializaion process is the teaching of the young to become humanistic beings relating to others in an optimistic manner. Billingsley has pointed out, however, that socialization for the Negro family entails an additional responsibility/function: socializing one's young how to be Black in a white society.[18]

In countless ways, ten of which will be defined in this discussion, Black parents have socialized their sons to be prepared for their roles in a racist society. Yet, for many Black males, the first enocunter with racism is traumatic. Consider the experiences of Bob Teague when he was six and a half years old and Countee Cullen when he was eight. Teague said:

> Clarion Theater, the most elegant movie House on the white fringe of the ghetto, planned an amateur (singing) contest on its stage in connection with the latest Shirley Temple movie. First prize was a trip to Hollywood for a screen test. . . . When I went to place my name in for the contest, the tall white usher in a dashing blue uniform—gold braid and brass buttons—said gruffy: "Go home, boy. It's for whites only."[19]

He was crushed.

Poetically, Countee Cullen recounts the unforgotten first experience of being called "nigger."

> Once riding in old Baltimore,
>   Heart-filled, head filled with glee
> I saw a Baltimorean
>   Keep looking straight at me.
> Now I was eight and very small.
>   And he was no whit bigger,
> And so I smiled, but he poked out
>   His tongue and called me, "Nigger."
>
> I saw the whole of Baltimore
>   From May until December:
> Of all the things that happened there
>   That's all that I remember.[20]

If he chooses not to be "one of every twelve Black men who will die before he is forty,"[21] there are ten "lessons" which research reveals that all Black males must learn well:

1. that the often ambivalent role of polarities projected by his parents, especially his mother, when rearing him is preparation for his later subordinate role in a white society;
2. that he must devise individual ways to meet group problems. He must find compensation, whether healthy or unhealthy;
3. that the power to understand and alter his life will more than likely be denied him by white society;
4. that attaining manhood, because of systematic obstructions provided by a racist society, is an *active* process and not an ordained right;
5. that his coping method must be flexible because the rules are constantly changing. It is not uncommon for racist whites to declare that a door is open and then slam it in a Black man's face;
6. that more often than not, he will not be recognized as an individual person by the white man;

7. that it is important to keep his sense of humor in spite of it all. With a sense of humar one can survive;
8. that it is detrimental to let any man, Black or white, define his sense of worth and integrity. One has to supply that himself, by himself;
9. that to demand anything on the basis of one's skin is less than honorable;
10. that all events must be viewed via tunnel vision – a special viewpoint dictated by a particular circumstance.

Two additional lessons taught to Black males which I suspect have not been transmitted to Black males born in the 1960's are that the Black man has no power, and like his father he will not get it; that being a "bad nigger" results in the loss of one's life.

More often than not (and here I do not wish to indulge in stereotypes), the socialized Black male product resembled what Cobbs and Grier have called the "postal-clerk syndrome."

> This man is always described as "nice" by white people. In whatever integrated setting he works, he is the standard against whom other blacks are measured. "If they all were only like him, everything would be so much better." He is passive, non-assertive, and nonagressive. He has made a virtue of identification with the agressor, and he has adopted an ingratiating and compliant manner. In public his thoughts and feelings are consciously shaped in the direction he thinks white people want them to be.[22]

Due to the peculiar status of the Black family in America, it is conceivable that the above portrait of the Black man could have been more derogatory if it had not been for the strengths of the Black family. These strengths, according to Robert Hill, are: strong kinship bonds; strong work orientation; adaptability of family roles; strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.[23]

Viewing the Black family as a social system set within a larger social system reveals its importance in the socialization process of the Black male. Frazier has shown historically how the Black church has been an agency of social control; the chief means of economic cooperation; an important institution in the education of Blacks; and an arena of political activity.[24] Despite integration, the Black church has retained many of its former functions and remained the chief center of Black social life in *both* the cities and the rural areas. In it individuals may achieve distinction and the symbols of status; Black youngsters are encouraged to perfect oratorical skills; adults and children are given the opportunity to display their musical talents; people meet and marry there and it is a bulwark against a hostile white world. Reverend Jessie Jackson, Rev. Leon Sullivan and Rev. Ralph Abernathy–recognized spokesmen for Black people–are easily identifiable products of the Black church. Others not so well known have also provided excellent models for Black males to emulate.

Research Implications

The Black male could not escape being a most interesting subject of study for the social science researcher who is interested in conducting research about Black people for whatever reason. Indeed, the lower class Black male has been the subject of various research studies whose objectives appear to have been to perpetuate negative stereotypes about him.

Because such reports have greatly affected the socialization of the Black male, I would like to recommend that all research by the Institute be conducted in terms of a Black perspective which views Blacks in the context of Black rather than white norms. Moreover, it is also recommended that the Institute's research efforts be towards positive *actions*, as opposed to simply reacting to what whites have said or done with regard to data pertaining to Black communities. Finally, when conducting the research, it is suggested that to the extent possible, a control group (a group that received no treatment at all, or a specific form of other treated control, etc.) be utilized.

Psychology: Suggested Research

1. With special regard to an extended versus nuclear family systems, an *investigation of Black American child rearing practices.*

   Possible questions for this study include the two which follow:

   a. How did these practices come about?
   b. In what ways do these practices differ from other ethnic and racial groups.

2. A study of the effects of different styles of child guidance, with regard to the introduction of race awareness and race aesthetics, discipline and punishment, and inculcation of other moral values.[25]

   Males at four levels of development could be the subject of such a study. For example, a longitudinal study utilizing educational materials to *enhance racial awareness* for a specified period of time with males between the ages of 6 and 8 could be conducted. At two year intervals, until the subjects reached adolescence (13 years of age), the follow-up activities and research could be conducted. The fruits of such a study for the perpetuation of the development of positive self-concepts and pride in one's race, and thereby, an interest in its survival in a pluralistic society could be tremendous.

   The second, third, and fourth levels (adolescence, 13-17; young adult, 18-21; and maturity, 22-40) of development could seek answers to youths' racial *feelings*. For example:

- feelings when referred to as Black, Afro-American, Negro, Colored, by Blacks and whites.
- feelings when reading pro Black articles as opposed to feelings experienced when reading anti-Black articles (Reading materials could be provided in the context of the study.).
- feelings when patronized by whites, knowing something is said or done *because* he is Black as opposed to what he is as a person.

The generation gap covered by the various psychological development levels could provide insight into child rearing practices which have concurred with the various political movements, i.e., integration, assimilation, separatism, etc.

3. A Study about the role models Black parents encourage Black male youth to assume as heroes and idols, and the psychological implications (for sound mental health) of these models.

   Some possible questions to be raised:

- Which of the following models or combinations of models do parents project as desirable models for their sons – minister? postman? pimp? educator? politician? businessman? artist? writer?

- How are various models encouraged?
  - —by overt announcement or suggestion about career planning?
  - —by covert references to the characteristics of the role model?
  - —by criticism against one or more of the models?
- In matriarchal families, to what extent do Black male youth appreciate the models (uncle, mother's boyfriends, older brother, etc.) available to them?

These findings could have implications for (1) potential parents in the form of a handbook on child rearing practices; (2) Black textbook writers, Black film producers, Black actors and actresses in choosing their acting roles, Black poets, Black artists, etc.

- A study concerning the apprenticeship role Black males take when they informally adopt Black youths.

Education: Suggested Research

1. Data from a study entitled "Ways Black Middle-Class Families Encourage Career Choices of Their Sons" could provide valuable information for concerned school guidance counselors as they assist Black youth in career planning. Parents could also be apprised of the effects of their actions in the development of healthy Black psyches.
2. Using the same data as Daniel P. Moynihan in his proposed remedy for Black families pathology, Robert Hill concluded that Black families have strong *achievement* orientation. Research to determine how this orientation is fostered, despite racism, is in order. Identification of "lessons" of the socialization process should provide interesting data for this proposed study.
3. A look at "Black Male Adolescents' Educational Growth and Achievement in Traditional Schools and Open Schools" is another topic to be investigated. Such hypotheses as those which follow might be tested.

- Adolescents attending open schools will show evidence of the following more often than adolescents attending traditional schools:
  - —a love for learning;
  - —oral facility;
  - —skill acquisition;
  - —the ability to engage in independent learning activities;
  - —a more positive self concept.
- Adolescents attending open schools learning and vocational goals will be more sharply defined than adolescents attending traditional schools;
- Adolescents attending open schools will show comparable achievement to adolescents attending traditional schools in the sciences, in mathematics, and in history;

4. Another research topic to consider is "Street Academics: Promising or Permissive for Black Male Youth?" Appropriate hypotheses might include:

- Street academies foster the development of Black males' communication skills;
- Street academy faculties are permissive in their roles as teachers and advisors. The adoption of this role results in Black adolescent males becoming confused and disillusioned;

- Street academy graduates are self-directed, motivated, socially aware, questioning and seek out answers to their questions;
- Peer group assessment of students' progress will lead to hostile feelings among groups of students.

Social Work

Robert Hill asserts in *Strengths of the Black Family* that there exists a strong work orientation. A study about "The Development of Work Values in Black Adolescent Males" seems appropriate in light of Hill's findings. Factors which *inhibit* and those which *encourage* the development of work values in the socialization process of Black males need to be identified. The relative status of the welfare system, friend or foe, in this process should also be looked at, as should the existence and availability of training programs sponsored by Black self help groups, as well as the job corps and junior achievement. Although Samuel Yette condemned the Job Corps in his book *The Choice*, the impact of such a training program should be investigated.

Conclusion

With a few exceptions, the road to manhood for the Black male is a rugged one. Although confused by the simultaneous positive and negative messages he receives from others, especially his mother, the Black male must integrate these messages in a manner which is sometimes psychologically damaging if he wants respect and acceptance in the larger community. The price is high. Indeed, only a few Black males with healthy psyches have been able to successfully challenge the prescribed role overtly and covertly laid out for them and make significant contributions to American and world culture. Robert Hill and others attribute these successes to the strengths of the Black family. Now that some of the Black family's strengths have been identified, it is time for Black researchers to articulate the family's role in the socialization process and its implications for the Black man's survival.

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24. Frazier, E. Franklin E., *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970) pp. 29-86.

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Part III The Criminal Justice System and the Black Community

THE IMPACT OF CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ON THE BLACK COMMUNITY: AN OVERVIEW

by
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This paper is an overview which raises a number of issues, poses a number of questions, but provides few, if any, answers. It does, however, suggest that Black scholars who have heretofore neglected crime and the criminal justice system as legitimate areas of academic inquiry, must now begin to focus their attention on these subjects.

There exists an abundance of literature in the field of criminology, however, Black contributions to this vital area of study are, for all practical purposes, non-existent. This paper takes the position that there is a crying need for Black scholars to address themselves to the study of law, crime, and the criminal justice institutions. The answer to critical criminological questions as they relate to the Black community will not be answered as long as we must depend on the perspectives that are currently being advanced by white social scientists. This issue becomes increasingly acute when viewed in context of the fact that no Black has ever made a major theoretical contribution to the causal analysis of criminal behavior. Perhaps the inability of criminologists to develop viable etiological concepts is a direct result of the absence of Black input, since, as will be pointed out later, Blacks are disproportionately represented as both victims and perpetrators of criminal activities.

Crime and the Black Community

During the past decade, we have seen the nation and its leaders focus attention on the nation's crime problem. In fact, the problem of crime and the criminal justice system have been considered so important that over the last decade it received no less than four inquiries from Presidential Commissions: (1) the 1961 President's Commission on Civil Rights and Law Enforcement; (2) the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice; (3) the 1968 President's Commission on Civil Disorders; and (4) the 1969 President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. This same concern has carried over into the seventies which is evident by the works of the 1971 President's Commission on Campus Disorder and the creation of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

The problem of crime, coupled with the public's fear of crime, is as high today as ever before. For example, in January, 1973, Dr. George Gallup released a poll which showed that in center cities, one out of every three people had been victims of crime. Crime, according to the Gallup Poll, was listed as the number one domestic problem.

It is interesting to note that the fear of crime is increasing, even though statistics indicate a leveling off of the crime rate. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is the central repository of crime statistics in America, during the first three quarters of 1972, serious crimes increased only one percent over the same period the year before; violent crimes showed only a three percent increase; there was a leveling off of property crimes; and a decrease in the number of robberies and auto thefts. With the exception of rape, which showed a 13 percent increase, all other categories of crime reflected a downward trend.

However, care must be taken in interpreting the FBI crime statistics since they only reflect crimes reported to the police and these are often manipulated in order to show the police in a favorable light. As such, we do not know the actual incidence of crime in America. We can, nevertheless, estimate that crime is between two and four times higher than that reported to the police. Many individuals do not report crimes to the police because of their distrust of law enforcement officials. More accurate means of assessing crime in America will result from current victimization studies being conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Although we do not know the exact incidence of crime in the Black community, we do know that there is an increasing concern and fear of crime among Blacks. This is a point that should be evident to any Black scholar or educator who is attuned to what is going on in our communities. In city after city, we are being told, in no uncertain terms, that if we (Black educators) are for real in our overtures about doing something for the community, we are going to have to address ourselves to the crime problem. Just as surveys taken by the Gallup Poll have revealed crime as being a major concern in the broader community, unpublished surveys taken by Blacks also reveal a similar concern in the Black community.

There is a reluctance on the part of Blacks to publicly speak out on the crime issue and to openly discuss the increasing fear of crime in the Black community because of the fear that the authorities will use such public announcement to further advance their "law and order" posture. This concern is not without foundation, which is evident by the recent "law and order" advocates' response to the crime problem. That response has been the purchase of armaments, such as guns, tanks, etc. For example, in August of 1967, it was reported that the City of Newark had budgeted over $300,000 for such equipment as AR-15 rifles, barbed wire, armored cars and high-intensity lights to blind snipers. The words of the Sheriff of Los Angeles County also add substance to this concern:

> We are supplying our men with more modern and more sophisticated equipment. I do not intend to publicize where this is stored, nor precisely what the equipment is, but we are better prepared from a standpoint of weaponry to contend with our problems than we have ever been . . . I have been asked if high-powered rifles, automatic weapons and tear gas projectiles are available to all Los Angeles County Sheriff's Deputies at this moment. The answer is yes. When needed, they are available at a moment's notice. (Germann)

Is there any question in anyone's mind as to where such weapons are to be used?

So we find ourselves caught in a very real dilemma. On the one hand, there is reason to be concerned about crime in the Black community. For example, on the average, a citizen may be the victim of a violent crime only once in 400 years. Those living in the Black community face odds five times greater—one in eighty. If only one-fourth of the violent crimes in the Black community are reported, which is quite possible, the odds for those living there of being a crime victim within a year are one in twenty. "The white middle class city dweller by contrast is likely to be the victim of violent crime at the rate of once every 2,000 years, while upper middle class and rich suburbanites have a chance in 10,000 years (Clark)."

If any of you are afraid of being killed, escaping to the suburbs will not help you. Rather, you should watch out for your mother, father, sister, brother, spouse or other close associates, because 85 percent of all murders are committed by family members or other close acquaintances.

On the other hand, the Black community has a legitimate reason to fear the law enforcement officials. For example, during the years 1920 to 1932, there were 479 Blacks killed by whites in the South—54 percent of those were slain by white police officers. (Myrdal) In 1971, 75 percent of the civilians killed by the Chicago police were Black (Metcalfe Hearings). In California, where Blacks make up only 7 percent of the population, 48 percent of those killed by policemen in 1971 were Black (Younger).

In addition to knowing that violent crime in the cities occur disproportionately in the areas where Blacks live, we also know that the victims of assaultive violence in the cities generally have the same characteristics as the offenders. This fact was supported by a national victimization survey made by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in 1970 which showed that Blacks are most likely to be the victims of violent crimes. We know that the homicide rate for Blacks is approximately ten times that of whites. We know that homicide is the second leading cause of death among Black males aged 15-25 and the third leading cause between the ages 25-44 (Robins). We know that Black women are 18 times more likely to be raped than white women, and usually by Black assailants. We also know that more than one-half of those arrested for violent crimes in 1971 were non-whites, mostly Blacks.

These are facts that can be readily extrapolated from available studies. But what we do not know, or what we should know, far exceeds that which we do know. Illustrative of this point is the fact that although we are concerned about violence in the Black community and although Poussaint (1972) has recently published a book entitled, *Why Blacks Kill Blacks,* the most recent analysis of violent crime data by race of offender and victim was conducted by Curtis (1972) not by Blacks. The general theory which contends that there is a difference in attitudes towards the use of violence in various subcultures which are in turn organized into a set of culturally transmitted norms was developed by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), and not by Blacks. *Hence, there exists a need for Black scholars to study violence in the Black community in order to develop theoretical as well as policy implications from a Black perspective.*

In respect to property crimes, available information also reveals that Blacks are disproportionately represented as both victims and perpetrators. For example, the LEAA victimization study showed that the rate of victimization by burglary is more than one and one-half times higher for Black families than for white ones. Also, in 1971, more than one-half of those arrested for burglary were nonwhites, again, mostly Blacks. Yet, the most definitive analysis of race and crime was conducted by Wolfgang and Cohen (1970) and not by Black scholars. *Thus, there exists a need for Black scholars to address themselves to an analysis of race and crime for the purpose of dispelling prevalent myths about Blacks and crime.*

If it can be concluded that crime is disproportionately high in the Black community, it can logically be concluded that crime has a disproportionately high economic impact on the Black community. In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice assessed the cost of crime to America at approximately $21 billion for the year 1965 (the year on which LEAA's study was based). Based upon those estimates, Brimmer (1970) estimated that crime cost the Black community $2.3 billion in 1965. Today, these costs are considerably higher. For example, "since consumer prices rose about 16 percent between 1965 and 1969, it was estimated that the total cost of . . . [crime] was approximately $25 billion in 1969, and for . . . [Blacks] it was assumed to have amounted to close to $3 billion. This would represent almost 10 percent of the $33 billion . . . [Blacks] received in aggregate family income in 1969, compared with less than 5 percent of the $542 billion received by all families (Brimmer)."

In presenting his estimates of the costs of crime, Brimmer only attempted to sketch a broad overview:

> The impact of crime on individuals and families certainly cannot be captured in statistics. Nevertheless, I think it is important to emphasize that a significant share of the hard-earned income and a sizeable proportion of the wealth that the Black community has struggled to accumulate are being dissipated through the wastage of criminal offenses. Moreover, the cost of crime is by no means evenly distributed in the . . . [Black] community—just as it is not evenly distributed in the nation at large. Instead, the poorest members are far more likely to be victims—especially in cases of personal violence. Thus, the segment of the Black population which can least bear the costs of crime are more often forced to carry a dispropor-

tionate share of what amounts to a criminally imposed levy (Brimmer).

The Etiology of Crime

Beginning with the works of Lombroso (1911), who is credited with being the father of modern criminology, social scientists have advocated a number of theories attempting to explain the causes of criminal behavior. Lombroso's now rejected theory that criminals were an atavistic throwback to prehistoric man was consistent with the 19th Century beliefs of English scholars that there exists a distinguishable antisocial criminal class (Tobias) that somehow differed from the larger class of law abiding citizens. Even today, there are criminologists who still believe that "offenders are in some way fundamentally different from non-offenders" (Gibbons, 1970); a notion which anyone familiar with Blacks knows to be erroneous.

Attempts to explain criminal behavior are many and varied. But in the main, American criminologists have adhered closely to the psychogenic approach to criminality. Such an approach is based upon the belief that there are certain personality characteristics that distinguish "criminals" from "non-criminals" (Gibbons, 1968). They have not, however, been successful in defining those characteristics; therefore, the theories do not hold up under empirical testing.

Attempting to avoid the pitfalls of the psychogenic approach, other criminologists have adopted the typological approach to criminality. The typological approach suggests that we can better understand criminal behavior by concentrating our attention on the difference between different types of offenders, rather than comparing offenders with non-offenders. Resulting from this hypothesis, we have seen the emergence of a major work dealing with such deceptive types as "The Negro Armed Robber as a Criminal Type," "The Negro Numbers Runner as a Criminal Type," "The Negro Burglar as a Criminal Type," etc. (Roebuck). This approach is totally inadequate because it compels the researcher to seek those characteristics that fit his preconceived ideas and does not provide any meaningful insight into causal factors of criminality.

Still other social scientists place their faith in the sociogenic theory of criminality. The most prominent theory in this area is Sutherland's theory of differential association (Sutherland and Cressey). This theory does not assume that offenders have abnormal personality configurations, rather, their deviance is a result of excess association with antisocial standards and criminality is, therefore, a learned behavior. Attempts to test this theory have not met with success and there are current attempts to revise it in light of modern psychological principles of learning (Burges and Alkers).

More recently, criminologists are exploring the situational theory of criminality. "In general, a situational perspective assumes that the causal process operating in some instance of criminality is one which grew out of events closely tied in location and point of time to the deviant act" (Gibbons, 1970). Although this approach does not totally reject the genetic approach, it is based upon the hypothesis that certain individuals commit crimes because of the immediate circumstance in which they find themselves. Illustrative of this point is the case of bank robbers who are usually deperate men and not criminalistic gangs or individuals who rob banks because of their associations with other bank robbers or as a result of psychological problems which occurred in early childhood (Camp). To date, the situational theory of criminality is only supported by "arm chair" research, but is worthy of further exploration and expansion because of its logic to the circumstances in which many Blacks find themselves.

Those who have attempted to explain the cause of crime among Blacks have generally concluded that much of such crime is the result of the deplorable socio-economic conditions under which Blacks must live (Wolfgang and Cohen). This thesis was summarized by Hill when he wrote:

> Negroes who live in blighted areas suffer deeply from discrimination, rejection and lack of integration into the society. Juvenile delinquency among them is generated by this lack of integration rather than by processes of social disorganization. An increase in juvenile delinquency is likely to occur most frequently when and where aspirations of youth persist under conditions of limited and prescribed opportunities. Under such circumstances, access to success goals by legitimate means is seldom available to Negro youth in cities. They do not have opportunities for internalization of acceptable and respectable norms of conduct (Hill).

A somewhat different theory was put forth by Staples (1972) who attempted to examine the relationship of race and crime in a new theoretical framework based upon a systematic analysis of racial crime within the political-economic context of American society. Called the colonial model, Staples maintains that the essential features of colonialism are manifested in American society, the result being a group (Blacks) subjected to economic exploitation and political control and lack of the ability to express their cultural values without incurring serious consequences. Thus, Black crime, according to Staples, is directly related to the fact that:

> The racist fabric of white America denies Blacks a basic humanity which permits the violations of their right to equal justice under the law. In America, the right to justice is an inalienable right; for Blacks it is still a privilege to be granted at the caprice and goodwill of whites who control the machinery of the legal system and the agents of social control (Staples)

Staples' thesis is closely aligned to the political prisoner theory. This theory is basically the belief that although a "Black prisoner's crime may or may not have been a political action against the state . . . the state's action against him is always political" (Chrisman).

Although voiced in a somewhat different tone, what Staples and those who are advocates of the political prisoner theory are saying is not unlike the emerging views of several white writers such as Matza (1964), Turk (1969), Jeffery (1956), Quinney (1969), and others. "These writers all suggest, in one way or another, that the most crucial criminological questions center about the social processes through which groups in society manage to get some conduct norms converted into legal norms, as well as the workings of the legal system and correctional organizations which enforce these norms and which label persons as criminals (Gibbons, 1970)."

The significance of this theory was recently highlighted by a cohort study conducted on all males born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1945 and who resided there from their ninth to eighteenth birthdays. The study revealed that over half (50,6) of all non-whites in that cohort were arrested before they reached adulthood, as compared with only 26 percent of whites. The study further concluded that the more involvement a juvenile had with the police and the criminal justice system, the more likely he would be further involved (Wolfgang, 1973).

This brief examination of the etiology of crime suggests two things: (1) *There is a need for Blacks to study the causal factors of crime among Blacks and develop theories that are reflective of a Black perspective; and (2) there is a need for Blacks to make an analysis of the law and criminal justice agencies to ascertain to what extent they contribute to crime among Blacks.*

Blacks and the Criminal Justice System

The need for investigations into the latter concern is based upon the hypothesis that racism is an inherent function of both the law and the criminal justice system and thereby accounts for the disproportionate number of Blacks who find themselves caught up in that system. This thesis, "Racism as a Function of the Criminal Justice System," is the topic of Mr. Pierson's paper, so my coverage of this concern will be very brief.

The factors that give rise to this research concern stem from a number of observations extraculated from various recent findings. First, once arrested, Black suspects are more likely to be jailed rather than bailed, more likely to be convicted than acquitted, and more likely to receive stiff sentences. This claim has been supported by other evidence which revealed that Blacks are arrested between three and four times more often than whites. Blacks (41.7%) are adjudicated guilty more often than whites (28.37%), and among offenders sentenced to Federal prisons in 1972, the average sentence was 43.3 months for whites and 58.7 months for nonwhites.

Second, in 1970, the average prison sentence for Federal prisons in jury cases was 61.1 months for whites and 81.1 months for nonwhites.

Third, in 1970, whites convicted of income tax evasion were committed to Federal prisons for an average of 12.8 months; nonwhites for 28.6 months.

Fourth, according to a report by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts for Fiscal Year 1969, defendants who could not afford private counsel were sentenced nearly twice as severely as defendants with private counsel. The economic status of Blacks is such that few can afford legal counsel.

Fifth, of the 3,827 men and 32 women executed since 1930, 53 percent were Black, In 1972, 52 percent of those on death row were Black.

Finally, Blacks are underrepresented as professionals in the criminal justice system. Although Blacks comprise over 12 percent of the nation's population, they make up only 3.5 percent of law enforcement employees. Of the government's 93 U.S. attorneys, none are Black, and there are few Black prosecutors at the local level. Black lawyers comprise less than one percent of all lawyers—3,000 out of 300,000. Out of the 445 Federal judges, only 22 are Black. Among the country's 12,000 state and city judges, only 178 are Black. Less than 8 percent of the correctional employees in the nation are Black. Blacks are drastically underrepresented as administrators in the correctional process. For example, whereas Blacks comprise 28 percent of California's inmate population, all 13 of the state's prison wardens are white. At Attica before the 1971 riot, 54 percent of the inmates were Black, but only one Black was on the staff and he was not a guard.

Taken together, these facts clearly indicate that the American system for the administration of criminal justice impacts negatively on Blacks and this point is further complicated by virtue of the fact that Blacks have been systematically excluded as workers in that system.

This condition can be explained, in great part, by the fact that the acts that are criminal are so defined by those in our society who possess the power to either enact or influence the enactment of legislation. Those who possess such power have one thing in common—they are white. Thus, the law has historically reflected the posture of American society and is used by whites to oppress Blacks:

> Traditionally law has functioned as the handmaiden of the propertied class in our society. So it was to be expected that lawyers in the legislative halls, lawyers on the bench, and lawyers in the executive branch of government would combine their talents to perpetuate by law this pecularly American doctrine of racism predicated upon a claimed color of inferiority (Crockett, 1971).

Rather than present you with a long discussion on racism in the law, let it suffice to say that:

> The law will change when men who make the law change—or when we make new men. Until such time, if, indeed, there is still reason to hope for either time, those who examine the question of racism and American law will continue to find racism in American law (Burns).

Since it is not sufficient to just be able to define what acts are illegal, those who possess the power must have a means of applying the law. Thus, they have agents who are responsible for the application of the law. Those agents consist of what is generally referred to as the criminal justice system—police, courts and corrections.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the issues which I raised in this paper center around the fact that crime is a problem in the Black community—a problem which begs for attention from Black scholars. White social scientists who currently dominate the field of criminology have not prorivded us with the answers we need, primarily because their approach has been preventional and reflective of a western European concept of analysis. Hence, Black social scientists must begin to raise questions and challenge the stereotypical assumptions advanced by whites about crime among Blacks and provide us with a new level of knowledge.

I have both implicitly and explicitly suggested a number of areas relative to crime, the criminal justice system and the Black community that lend themselves to research. Those areas can be summarized as follows:

1. There is a need to assess the effect the fear of crime has on the mental health of Blacks;
2. There is a need to study violence in the Black community in order to develop theoretical as well as policy implications from a Black perspective;
3. There is a need for Black scholars to address themselves to an analysis of race and crime in order to dispell prevalent myths about Blacks and crime;
4. There is a need to determine with more precision the economic impact of crime on the Black community;

5. There is a need to study the sociological and psychological impact of crime on the Black community;
6. There is a need to study the causal factors of crime among Blacks and develop theories with practical application that are reflective of a Black perspective;
7. There is a need to make an analysis of the law and criminal justice agencies in order to ascertain to what extent they contribute to crime among Blacks;
8. There is a need to develop mechanisms for getting more Blacks employed as professionals in the criminal justice system.

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RACISM AS A FUNCTION OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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It has become increasingly apparent that the face of criminal justice is White. The fact that the ratio of Whites to Blacks within the law enforcement field is completely out of proportion to the ratio of Whites to Blacks in the total population is but a minor factor in methods used to invoke unequal law enforcement based on race.

From police law enforcement to confinement in prison, the statistics indicate that Blacks are grossly over represented from arrest to conviction. Additionally, statistics indicate that as persons are processed through the criminal justice system, from the point of original arrest to confinement in prison, the percentage of Black representation increases. It is only at the point where probation or parole is granted that Blacks again become a minority.

It is the purpose of this paper to identify the points within the criminal justice system wherein decisions are made affecting the over representation of Blacks, and to examine the purposes served by basing these decisions on race.

The largest and least educated segment of the criminal justice system is the police. Nationally, their numbers total more than four hundred thousand.[1] Racially, they are over 95 percent white. In fact, in 28 of our largest cities whose average non-White population is 26 percent, the police forces are more than 93 percent White.[2] Of the more than eighty thousand officers represented in these figures, 10,821 hold some promotional rank from sergeant through captain. Less than four percent—three hundred and sixty-three of that number—are non-White.[3]

This very apparent racial imbalance is deliberate, and represents a means by which police departments give lip service to their alleged desire to increase minorities in their departments while insuring that they—mostly Blacks—do not gain command positions. A most recent and explicit method in which this situation was perpetuated was exposed in Washington, D.C. when the Human Rights Commission ascertained that departmental evaluations which are completed on all officers and are a major determinant for promotion, uniformly rated Black officers ten points lower than the ratings submitted on White officers.[4] The practice was so blatant that the chief was forced to order that all officers be re-evaluated.

The dominance of Whites within police work is necessary for the maintenance of many police practices of doubtful legality. Basic to all discussions relative to "crime rates" are arrest statistics which are published yearly by the FBI and are based on police records. There are a multitude of sociological researchers who discuss crime rates and the great amount of crime allegedly committed by Blacks. These researchers have one point in common—their blind acceptance of the FBI arrest figures as being synonomous to crime figures. Almost all of these researchers fail to recognize the total unreliability of arrest figures as a measure of crime. When the police arrest and charge a person with a crime, they have formerly cleared that crime in their records, no matter what disposition is made of the defendant. Once the police arrest and charge a man with robbery, that robbery is cleared as solved. If the prosecutor should ascertain that the person arrested was innocent and have the charges against him dropped, that robbery is still cleared as solved. If the defendant should go to court and is proven innocent at this trial, that robbery is still cleared as solved. The point to be recognized here is that the police make arrests to clear crimes, and they have no vested interest in the actual guilt or innocence of the people they arrest.

In 1971, the police made more than five million arrests, which by their definition cleared approximately 20 percent of all reported crime. Obviously, indiscriminate arrests in such large numbers might be expected to generate large scale demands for reforms and/or investigations. However, these arrests are not made indiscriminately; they are made selectively. The criminal justice system continuously identifies poverty as a primary contributor to crime, and most Blacks are poor. The police "prove" Blacks commit most crimes by arresting mostly Blacks.

Once the formal arrest has been made, the second function of the criminal justice system is undertaken by the prosecutor. He has a dual responsibility—to reinforce the police, and to gain as many convictions as possible. Obviously, given the volume of arrests made by the police and the doubtful legal basis for many of these arrests, the prosecutor is hard pressed to maintain his conviction batting average. The tool most often used in this effort is the plea bargaining process whereby he threatens the defendant with a long prison or jail sentence in order to gain a compromise guilty plea. As with the police, it is simply good business for the prosecutor to focus such practices on the most defenseless—poor people, which too many times means Black people.

The facts are that the great majority of Blacks who are arrested have neither the financial resources necessary to bail themselves out of jail to protect their employment, nor the money to retain adequate legal representation. To these people the prosecutor offers a deal, a plea of guilty to a relatively minor charge—a move that many times has the primary purpose of getting the arresting officer off the hook for possible false arrest—in return for the prosecutor's promise to drop more serious charges and to request a light sentence or probation. Even if the prosecutor knew he would be unable to prove the more serious charge (or sometimes any charge) should the defendant choose to take his chances in court, the man conceivably could remain in jail a year or more awaiting trial.

For those defendants brave and foolish enough to still demand their right to trial, the court has a well earned reputation for harsh dealings. Documented evidence makes it apparent that Blacks who have been arrested, particularly in civil rights cases or cases with racial overtones, are often penalized for insisting on their constitutional right to a trial by jury.

As evidence that it is not an uncommon practice for sentencing judges to give a more severe sentence to a person who has "wasted the court's time" by insisting on a trial rather than pleading guilty, a survey of two hundred judges indicated that a majority felt such sentencing practices were both proper and justified.[6]

At this point, it seems appropriate to re-emphasize one of the methods used to bring so many Blacks in contact with the criminal justice system in the first place. The method is simple and is based on police using their "professional expertise" to identify individuals as possible suspects by the individual's race. The practice was detailed in a 1968 study of the San Diego Police Department. At that time, San Diego had a population of approximately one and a quarter million persons, and a Black population of about one hundred thirty thousand, or 11 percent of the total population. The San Diego police operated within a style of law enforcement that is categorized as police invoked order maintenance, and is based on their own initiative and authority, intervening in situations of actual or potential disorder.[7]

The study disclosed that in a one year period, police officers of that department stopped for questioning and filled out F.I. cards (field interrogation cards) on twenty thousand persons who the officers viewed as suspicious. This is a practice common to many police departments and the filling of F.I. cards is intended for persons who the officers feel are suspicious types, but are not suspected of any particular crime. Of the twenty thousand cards filed that year, 80 percent were written on Blacks.[8] This practice makes it apparent that from the police perspective, the fact that a person is Black is a primary criteria for determining that he appears suspicious. Assuming that each of the twenty thousand F.I. cards was on a different individual—which was not necessarily the case—it would indicate that the police viewed more than twelve percent of the Black population as suspicious, but had similar views of less than one percent of the white population.

Going back to the role of the prosecutor in contributing to the over representation of Blacks in criminal statistics, there is a need to examine the prosecutor's charging discretion. According to the FBI statistics, a total of sixteen thousand persons were charged with criminal homicide that year.[9] The prosecutor in each instance has the authority and discretion to determine whether the defendant will be charged with murder or non-negligent manslaughter, or with the lesser offense of manslaughter by negligence. Generally, the difference between the two categories is that murder is a capital offense, which until the recent supreme court decision, was punishable by the death penalty, while manslaughter imples a degree of excuse of non-intent for the act, thereby allowing the defendant to receive as light a sentence upon conviction as probation. Despite these differing definitions, they both apply to the same act—the unlawful killing of a human being.

Broken down by race, the FBI statistics showed that 4,716 Whites were charged with the more serious offense of murder or non-negligent manslaughter, as compared to 8,276 Blacks, The implication is that nearly twice as many Blacks commit murder as do Whites. However, a strange reversal takes place when one examines the racial figures for persons charged with manslaughter by negligence. Moreover, this reversal remains constant from year to year. The figures state that in 1971, 1974 Whites were charged with manslaughter by negligence, to only 126 Blacks.[10] Plainly, White prosecutors are "throwing the book" at Blacks, while placing the lesser charge against more than 29 percent of all Whites who are charged with unlawful killing. For the statistically minded, compared to the 29 percent of Whites who received the lesser charge, only 7 percent of the Blacks received the same charge. Plainly, at this point of the criminal justice system, an increase in the percentage of Black representation has been totally assured.

The same practice is indicated in statistics which show more Blacks than

Whites being charged with rape, while Whites outnumber Blacks by more than three and one half to one in being charged with other sexual offenses.[11] The key to understanding these statistics is again that the prosecutor has the authority to reduce a possible rape charge down to any lesser charge that would include an act that was a part of the rape charge.

As previously stated, the prosecutor is in the position of reinforcing the police while at the same time proving his efficiency by gaining as many convictions as possible. Some legal experts have estimated that if the prosecutor were completely independent and totally objective, about half of all police arrests would be dismissed for either insufficiency of cause or evidence, or for violation of the defendant's rights. In selecting the persons with whom he will offer plea bargaining deals, it is merely good business and self-protection for the prosecutor to pick those individuals who are least able to resist his offer, and least apt to challenge his motives or practices.

The courts have extremely broad sentencing discretion, not only between different jursidictions, but within the same jurisdiction. The court can impose hardships on a defendant before trial that will seriously lessen his ability to defend himself, or it can indicate by its actions that the defendant should receive preferential treatment because of his status or position. An example of this was given in New York recently when former Attorney General John Mitchell appeared in court to enter a plea on a charge of purjury. The presiding judge ruled not only that the defendant would not be required to post bail, but that he would not be required to submit to the normal booking process of being photographed and fingerprinted.[12]

In the matter of the courts invoking sentences, it is again the most defenseless who receive the harshest sentence. In an article by Edward Green, it was shown that Blacks serve more time per offense than Whites, and that an offense by a Black against a White is more severely punished than a similar offense against a Black.[13]

Despite his findings, the author arrived at the conclusion that these differences were not due to racial discrimination, but rather to "intrinsic differences between the races in patterns of criminal behavior."[14] It is interesting that although the author had voluminous statistics relating to crimes by Blacks against both Blacks and Whites, and crimes by Whites against Whites, he presented no statistics for crimes against Blacks.

One purpose served by the courts imposing more severe sentences against Blacks, is that given the volume of Black defendents being processed through the court system, the court has a great opportunity to apply the theory of individual justice, or deciding the sentence for each individual case on the factors involved. By using this theory, Whites, particularly middle and upper class Whites, are constantly dealt with by sentencing judges less severely than the poor and the Black. A classic example was a case in San Francisco where a White police officer was tried and convicted of brutally beating a Black man—who was handcuffed at the time after being arrested for a crime he was later proven to be innocent of—to the extent that the side of the victim's face was crushed and required plastic surgery. The judge placed the officer on probation rather than sending him to prison, explaining that the officer had already been sufficiently punished by the loss of his job and the shame of his conviction.

As with the other segments of the criminal justice system, the court reserves its most severe punishment for the poor and the Black.

Finally, at the end of the system is the parole authority. Here Blacks finally become a minority. They receive parole less often, and only after serving more time than Whites. This is not to imply, however, that parole boards do not have the power to apply discretion to their judgments. An example of their discretion was shown in California where a White police officer, serving five years in prison for extortion, was paroled after 18 months because the parole board ascertained that "the man's confinement was working a hardship on his family."[15] Aside from the fact that the man was released from prison before serving as much as one third of his original sentence, when the state's parole laws don't even authorize a parole hearing until the defendant has served one third of his sentence, the point to be recognized is that a White person can benefit by the discretionary authority of the system and receive parole after serving less time than many Blacks do while awaiting trial, and before being convicted.

Justice is not blind and justice is not equal. Justice is selective and thrives on the weak. There is no quick and easy solution to eliminating the inequities of the system. A necessary first step in promoting any such change is to educate the primary victims of the system—the poor and the Black—and to give them the knowledge to assist them in combating the system and exposing the racism.

There is not only a place, but a dire need for knowledgeable Blacks to conduct research into, and to document the racist practices of the criminal justice system. The pressing need is to spell out, by the use of facts and statistics, the methodology and its results that produce institutional racism. The need is for comparative studies to show how the system builds its enforcement statistics on the lives of the poor and the Black. The need is for Blacks in supervisory and administrative positions to institute changes within the system, and to see that the documentary evidence of the result of those changes is neither lost nor altered.

That this type of evidence can be and is altered is a fact. Ten years ago less than 50 percent of the California prison population was White. Because it was becoming increasingly apparent that a major discrepancy existed between the number of Whites convicted of crimes and the number of Whites serving time in prison, there was a need to alter these figures. Today, Whites constitute the great majority of that state's prison population, but the Mexican-American prison population has disappeared. It has been re-classified as foreign born Whites, a move that has nearly doubled the White prison population, and at the same time effectively disguised the fact that the most represented race in arrests actually has a minority representation in prison populations.

This is not to infer that there are no well intentioned Whites administering the criminal justice system. However, the system has evolved into its present form under White guidance and dominance, and it is extremely unlikely that it will apreciably change without Black input.

The need for change is critical, and the need for Black involvement is pressing. The job ahead is difficult, and the measure of its success will be the reduction of Black representation throughout the criminal justice process.

FOOTNOTES

1. Crime in the United States issued by Gray, Patrick L., Acting Director FBI,

U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971.

2. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968.

3. Ibid.

4. Washington Post, March 13, 1973, p. 1.

5. See "Improper Penalty" in *Criminal Justice Administration,* by Remington et al. The Babbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1969.

6. Newman, Donald J., *Conviction: The Determination of Guilt or Innocence Without Trial.* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1966.

7. This style of police law enforcement is described in detail in *Varieties of Police Behavior* by James Q. Wilson. Harvard University Press, 1968.

8. Misner, Gordon & Lohman, Joseph, *The Police & The Community,* University of California, 1968.

9. *Crime in the United States,* Uniform Crime Reports—1971. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972. p. 127.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Washington Post,* May 19, 1973.

13. "Race & Sentencing" by Edward Green in *The Sociology of Punishment & Correction* edited by Wolfgang, Savitz & Johnson. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1970.

14. *Ibid.* p. 259.

15. Oakland Tribune, November 22, 1956.

PERSPECTIVES OF BLACKS IN THE CORRECTIONAL PROCESS

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"Forty-three citizens of New York State died at Attica Correctional facility between September 9 and 13, 1971. Thirty-nine of that number were killed and more than 80 others were wounded by gunfire during the 15 minutes it took the state police to retake the prison on September 13. With the exception of Indian massacres in the late 19th century, the State Police Assault which ended the four-day prison uprising was the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War . . . "

Most of those killed at Attica were Blacks who were trying to make life better for themselves and others within the prison systems throughout the country. What we must keep in mind and what we can never forget is that this country is white owned, controlled and dominated. Attica was no different than Watts, Detroit, Washington, D.C. or any other city which experienced the riots in the late sixties which saw the police and the National Guard indiscriminately kill Black Brothers.

My intention today is not to focus on the consequences of revolutionary acts which lead to the destruction of our people, but to look at the prison system and see what needs to be done to make life better for Black prisoners. We must keep in mind that regardless of the kinds of programs or facilities that are constructed to rehabilitate the prisoner, he is still confined against his will. There is no such thing as a good prison; all prisons are degrading and dehumanizing and all should be abolished. Regardless of the kinds of research that are conducted within the prison walls, we are only applying band-aids to massive problems.

Historically, most state prison systems have been predominately white owned and white controlled. All of the studies that have been conducted in the past have been conducted by white sociologists in prison settings which have been more than 50 percent white.

Donald Clemmer in his book *The Prison Community*[2] discussed the inmate social system with little if any emphasis on the Black inmate. John Irwin indicated in his book *The Felon*[3] that Blacks were assuming a more militant and ethnocentric posture but did not elaborate on its ultimate consequences. Dan Glaser in *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System*[4] devoted only a few lines to Blacks and that was in relationship to the Muslim problem at one of the institutions.

Generally, after reviewing all the literature available on Blacks in prison, little pertinent information was found regarding the role of Blacks in the prison setting. Specifically, a paucity of information exists concerning the prison community of Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans. Furthermore, the research efforts thus far in penology have contributed little knowledge concerning the Black offender either in the state or federal systems. There are two plausible explanations for this. First, Blacks for many years were the distinct minority within the confines of the prison walls. They were segregated both in mind and were continually counseled "to do your own time." Second, their very existence within the prison depended upon their ability to say "yes sir and no sir" to the man. Rules and regulations were in general established by the prison authorities and the courts did not interfere in the area of discipline because it was decided that corporal punishment was necessary to keep prisoners in line. Because of the above two reasons, Blacks remained as quiet as possible and did not assert themselves in any way.

Only within the last fifteen years have Blacks moved into the prison in massive numbers and now constitute a threat to the white power structure. Prior to the civil rights movement, Blacks were seen and not heard. They were expected to enter the prison, do their own time and leave. Efforts were made to keep them as docile and as divided as possible. This was all changed by the Muslims moving into the prison system in the early sixties. The white man did not know how to deal with the Muslims so he locked all of the leaders up in segregation and isolation units throughout the country. The locking up of the Muslims brought about the first unification movement of Blacks within prison. Out of the Muslim movement grew leaders such as Eldridge Cleaver. Booker Johnson, and others who were at the forefront of Black revolutionary change within prisons. From the Muslim movement, the prisons moved into another area in which they tried to deal with brothers who were former Panthers in the community. Again the response was to lock up and identify all "so called troubled makers."

The California Department of Corrections is considered by most to be the most "progressive" of any other state system. More treatment programs have been tried in California than in any other state, yet, California's recidivist rate still remains generally at around fifty percent. Violence has continued to increase within the California system and that violence is generally directed against the Black inmate. Most of us have read about the shooting of George Jackson by San Quentin guards, the racial conflicts at Soledad State Prison between Blacks and Chicanos, the continual incarceration of Blacks such as Fleeta Drumgo, David Hillard of the Panthers and, for a long period of time, Huey Newton. Prisons within the last few years have experienced riots, demonstrations, strikes and killings, yet there have been no studies dealing with Blacks in the prison setting, not even by whites. The Black perspective has not been critically reviewed nor has there been any attempt to understand what George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver, Huey Newton or Angela Davis were trying to tell us about the system. Clearly, prisons remain the same regardless of the euphemisms now used. "Guards" are called "Correctional Officers," "Wardens" are called "Superintendents," and the "hole" is called the "Adjustment Center," but these terms cannot change the individual and his response to the system. We must keep in mind that, within ten years, the major prisons throughout this country will be inhabited by a Black majority. Those programs that have failed for whites will also fail for Blacks. Traditional methods of group and individual therapy have not been successful with Blacks because white therapists have assumed that minority groups bring to the prison the same kinds of problems that whites do. How appropriate are theories like "transactional analysis" or "inter-personal maturity levels" to minority populations? These types of approaches are based on white group values and behavioral norms and do not translate into applicable values and norms for Black groups. Reports evaluating minority prisoners with these types of analytical frameworks betray a tyranny of the subtlest kind and keep scores of Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans locked up in prisons throughout the country. As one Black prisoner so ably stated in one of my visits to a Maryland prison last week: "They have stopped messing with our bodies but now are 'fucking with our minds'." We must begin to provide psychological and psychiatric services to our Black brothers within the prison setting.

Let me share with you some of the current research that is still going on behind prison walls. Drug firms have for years used prisoners for experimental purposes. Testing cancer vaccines, testing pain pills, using prisoners for frontal lobotomies. The Maryland House of Correction is still allowing their prisoners to be used for drug experiments. The prison places a large segment of its population on medication each and every day to control behavior.

Little if any knowledge is available as to the extent of medication given to prisoners who fail to conform within the prison environment. Under what circumstances are they placed on medication, who makes the decision to place them on medication and for what period of time are all questions which need to be answered by Black sociologists. We have no knowledge of the after-effects once the prisoner has been taken off medication nor do we have knowledge of whether or not the prisoner is able to function in a normal manner without medication once he returns to the community.

Another area which we need to be concerned with is what happens to an inmate who enters prison with a drug habit? Is he able to continue to receive drugs either legally or illegally? What kind of treatment is he receiving in prison and does this treatment assist him in his readjustment to the community?

Alex Swann is presently conducting research in the area of the Black Family and what effect incarceration has upon the family once the man or woman is taken away from the community. I am sure that he will share some of his findings with this group.

I have just submitted a proposal to the National Institute of Health concerning Black inmate self-esteem as well as a request for funds to examine racial perceptions of correctional officers and white groups within prisons. One of the basic goals of this research is to provide guidelines for modifications of behavior over a longer period of time, not only within the prison, but outside in the community as well.

In the area of self-esteem, it has generally been assumed that minorities will have lower self-esteem than whites. The reasons for this assumption are based primarily on current writers such as Thomas F. Pettigrew who have told us:

> ". . . that racial identity in both white and Black children appears by the third year and rapidly shapens each year thereafter . . . There is a tendency for Black children to prefer white skin . . . Moreover, young children of both races soon learn to assign, realistically, poorer houses and less desirable roles to Black dolls . . . These identity problems are inextricably linked with problems of self-esteem. For years, Black Americans have had little else by which to judge themselves than the second-class status assigned them in America . . . Blacks consciously or unconsciously accept in part these assertions of their inferiority."[5]

Lower self-esteem has been further expressed by Kardner and Oversey in the

Mark of Oppression.[6] Ina Corinne Brown, in *Understanding Race Relations,*[7] speaks of the Black experience as being such as to rob Blacks of a worthy self-image. Kenneth Clark in *Dark Ghetto* points out that experiences, which prove to people that almost nowhere in society are they respected, create doubts of self-worth in the people's minds.[8] These doubts, Dr. Clark believes, become the seeds of self- and group-hatred.

Most of us have assumed from prior studies of Black self-esteem that Blacks in fact do have lower self-esteem. My assumption is that, because most Blacks who are in prison come from communities within the ghetto which are all Black, they have a higher self-esteem than whites, but the major problems which create violence within prison is that they cannot cope with the institutional racism which is subtle and non-descript. Because they are unable to adequately identify their oppressors, except in a general way, they become frustrated which eventually leads to violence.

Closely aligned to the problems of minority self-concept and status hierarchy is the problem of perceptions of inmates by staff and staff by inmates. Most administrators are perceived as "racist" by Blacks and most Blacks are sure that racial discrimination exists from the time of entry into the system until time of release. We have no knowledge of whether there is a positive or negative correlation between the perception of racism and the overall adjustment of the inmate not only within the prison but upon his release. It is hoped that this study will give us some knowledge about the self-concepts of Blacks within prison and also assist us in identifying institutional as well as individual racism as practiced by the staffs within state institutions.

Ideally, we need more Black administrators within the prison system who are concerned about the plight of the Black offender. We cannot rest on our meager success and say that there has been some change in the administrative posture of some states. While it is true that we do have Black administrators at the very highest levels of correctional administration in Washington, D.C., Maryland, Minnesota, and Ohio, there are few if any in states such as New York, California and Michigan which house the largest populations of Blacks in the country. We must keep in mind that prisons are generally at the lower end of budget allocations and regardless of the good intentions of the administrator, if he does not have the funds, there is very little that he can do to bring about change within his sphere of influence.

I do not agree with those advocates who maintain that research should be conducted outside of prison walls. As long as one single prisoner remains confined, it is our duty to try and make his life a better place in which to live.

In most systems, persons are paroled by a parole board which is generally composed of political appointees of the governor with little if any prior experience in the area of corrections. Their decisions are generally based in political reasons rather than factual reasons concerning the cases that are presented to them on a day to day basis. There is a need for research in the area of decision making by parole boards. How do they reach their decision? Are Blacks receiving longer sentences than whites for the same offense? What kinds of items do they take into cinsideration prior to reaching a decision? Is it employability, family relationships, improvement in inter-personal relations, etc.? What happens to an aggressive inmate such as Eldridge Cleaver or George Jackson? Is the aggressive prisoner punished for standing up for his rights? These and other questions need answers so that we will be able to better understand the parole board and its decision making process.

Another question we must ask ourselves is why do some prisoners succeed and others fail? We generally have an overabundance of information on those prisoners who fail upon release but very little information on those persons who after incarceration are making it within our communities. There should be follow-up studies over a ten to fifteen year span comparing those persons who are successful with those persons who fail. This kind of study would give us some information as to the success or failure of the institution and its programs. Perhaps we should advocate segregation again and assign Black parole officers to Black clients. We have no knowledge as to whether or not white parole officers can relate at all to Black clients yet we assume that this is the case within our present structure. We are also reluctant to try ex-parolees as parole agents, yet we talk about rehabilitation. Only two cities, Washington, D.C. and Chicago, have even given the experiment a try—the ex-convict may turn out to be a better counselor than the so-called college trained youngster who is just out of school and never has committed a crime in his life.

What is needed is more action research were Black people are going in and out of institutions looking for answers to assist Blacks to break the chain of bondage which hangs so heavily around each and everyone of us whether we be incarcerated or not. We should begin to ask questions about the classification systems that assign prisoners to work details for the convenience of the prison and not for the benefit of the individual inmate. We must question vocational training within institutions which are supposed to prepare inmates for eventual return to the community, yet upon release a very small minority are able to obtain employment in the area of their specialty. Employment records of released offenders must be examined to find out whether or not the offender is presently working, how long he has been working, how many job changes he has had, and whether or not he received training within the institution and if this training helped in obtaining employment upon his release.

We have very little knowledge concerning community absorption rates, i.e., how parolees are handled by non-official agencies and other informal mechanisms within the community. We also need additional information on apprehension rates of ex-convicts within our communities, processing rates, release rates and reabsorption rates within the Criminal Justice System. If we look at these categories within the system, we should be in a position to know: (a) current levels of system effectiveness; (b) what changes are taking place; (c) what areas of concern are most in need of change, etc. These are some of the concerns that we must have if we are going to have an impact upon the correctional process within this country.

I would now like to address the federal correctional system. The federal system is generally hidden under a "white cloud." I use the term white cloud becuase most of us do not consider it dark, dirty and evil. We have come to equate white with purity and light, and darkness with evil, yet, in looking at the federal system of justice, I find it just as dark and just as evil as the state systems. No studies have been done of Blacks in the federal system, yet Blacks make up a substantial proportion of the inmate population within federal prisons.

The Black federal offender is generally committed for bank robbery, narcotics and theft. He generally serves a longer time in prison than his white counterpart who is charged with the same offense, primarily because the criteria *used for release is generally the same criteria that makes up the middle class* ethic, i.e., a job, family, education. The same kind of research knowledge that is needed to study the state system is also needed to study the federal system.

Finally, I would like to devote the remainder of my time to a brief discussion of the need to do research in the area of the military justice system. The entire subject of the administration of military justice is one of the Army's most explosive, complex and sensitive problems. As you know, there have been riots on military bases throughout the country as well as overseas and, just recently, Blacks were involved in a race riot aboard ship and all of those locked up were Blacks.

A survey, based on Department of Defense data as of December 31, 1969, examined the entire disciplinary record for each enlisted man in the Army with 23 months of active service. The study found that the percentage of Black enlisted men receiving non-judicial punishment (article 15) and courts martial convictions for direct confrontation offenses was slightly more than three times that of whites. Direct confrontation offenses were those involving disrespect, disobedience, insubordination, provoking speeches, gestures and assault.

There have been complaints from Black soldiers charging discrimination in the application of pre-trial confinement. Pre-trial confinement can only be imposed under certain circumstances, i.e., a soldier cannot be confined while trial is pending unless it is necessary to insure his appearance at the trial; further, a soldier cannot be confined more than 30 days without formal charges being filed.

There are charges that some Black soldiers in pre-trial confinement have been confined as long as six months awaiting trial and that pre-trial confinement is imposed on those the commander considers "militants" or troublemakers. The N.A.A.C.P. survey in Germany showed that half of the Blacks in military jails are held in pre-trial confinement and sometimes more than three out of five blacks are detained this way.[9]

Conditions in stockades range from fair to poor and, in most cases, again the correctional officers are white, which creates additional problems. Black sociologists and criminologists must begin to move into disciplinary barracks and examine critically the plight of the young Black soldier who is being given time and never heard from again. The "voluntary" army is relying upon the Black urban community for most of its manpower, yet once the young Black is introduced to the system he rebels and his rebellious behavior gets him into difficulty. The little research that is being done in this area is being done by white sociologists.

Conclusion and Implications

Little, if any, research has been done on the Black offender. Prior studies indicate that the Black offender is overly represented in the criminal justice system and valid reasons are given for this overrepresentation. However, the sad fact is that no one is looking at the prisons which hold most of our offenders for long periods of time.

Regardless of where you start, there is work to be done in the penal system. Research is needed in all of the state systems. The federal system has remained relatively quiet, yet we know that Black people are suffering inequities each and every day. The military system of justice has major problems and, again, we are looking at youngsters who enter the military system without prior record but, because of the system, they get into difficulty and spend many years behind bars.

The need not only extends to the federal, state and military correctional systems; there is also a need for Black educators to come together and share knowledge as well as to assist each other in obtaining information concerning research grants. Too long have we worked in a vacuum where we have been concerned only with our individual projects. We should dedicate ourselves to help mankind, we should pedge ourselves to be less selfish, we should give of ourselves to Black people who are less fortunate than we are. Finally, we should send to the Congressional Black Caucus information concerning ourselves and let them know that we are available to assist in any way that will bring about changes in the system of corrections. I thank you.

FOOTNOTES

1. Attica—The Official Report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica, 1972.

2. Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community,* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958).

3. John Irwin, *The Felon,* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

4. Daniel Glaser, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System,* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).

5. Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American,* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. VanNostrand Company, Inc., 1964), p. 7.

6. Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression,* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1969).

7. Ina Corinne Brown, *Understanding Race Relations,* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973).

8. Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

9. Nathaniel R. Jones, Julius Williams, Melvin W. Bolden, Jr., *The Search For Military Justice: Report of an NAACP Inquiry into the Problems of the Negro Serviceman in West Germany,* (New York: NAACP Special Contribution Fund, 1971), p. 8.

CRIME AND SOCIAL POLICY: THE POLITICS OF RACE

by

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It is not in itself debatable that statistics tend to show a disproportionately higher incidence of crime and delinquency among Blacks in America. Ample statistical and empirical support is compiled to justify the anti-Black or prejudicial position that "if one is born Black, somehow he is born with certain criminal and delinquent tendencies."

Grimshaw observed in a review of some of the theories dealing with Black crime, that the rates can be predicted to be higher regardless of age or specific types of crimes. He asserts that:

> "Authorities may disagree on arrest-convictions ratios, or on the interpretation of various indices, but the fact remains that convictions and incarcerations are higher for the Negro population."[1]

Social scientists differ in their theoretical explanations of the factors responsible for the "high incidence" of black crime rate. However, most social scientists reject any biological or racial interpretation of the higher rates.

Many have attempted to explain the social phenomenon in terms of poor housing, economic disadvantages, depressed living conditions, immigration from the South to the North, culture conflict, aggressive and antisocial reaction to frustration and deprivations.[2]

Those social scientists more critical of statistical records of police departments, courts and prisons have sought an explanation in the inadequacy of available criminal statistics. The attacks upon the validity of criminal statistics result from theoretical and field evidence which suggest racial discrimination at various levels of the criminal justice system.[3]

> Thus even under equivalent socioeconomic conditions, racial crime rates would materially differ: the disabilities produced by discrimination add to the incidence of Negro crime by engendering frustrations which find expression in explosive assaults or repeated acts of predatory crime (Pettigrew, 1964: 150-156); racial discrimination in law enforcement exaggerates the official record of Negro crime by artificially inflating Negro rates of arrest and conviction (Johnson, 1941).[4]

Attempts to explain the disproportionate number of Blacks who find their way into the criminal statistics have also centered around the lower "socioeconomic" status theory. Allison asserts that regardless of race, persons of that particular social class are more likely to engage in criminal behavior.[5] The logic being, since there are proportionately more Blacks than whites of what we call lower "socioeconomic" status, it follows logically that it can be expected that proportionately more Blacks will be given to criminal behavior. There are several things questionable about this notion. Firstly, there is the fact that many people classified as being of high or middle "socioeconomic" status participate in and perpetuate criminal behavior. Secondly is the fact that many persons classified as lower "socioeconomic" status do not participate or perpetuate criminal behavior. Therefore, if the same variable may be used to explain "criminal behavior" and "noncriminal behavior," it loses its significance in an attempt to explain only one kind of behavior. Proponents of the lower "socioeconomic" status view may respond by explaining that they are not suggesting that social class causes crime, but that the evidence suggests that crime is more likely to be clustered, present and operative with some class statuses, particularly the status termed "lower class," than it is with others. Again no question is raised in their argument as to the sources of the evidence.

Most research on crime and delinquency starts in the official records of police, courts, and institutions. A large number of criminal acts are unrecorded in these sources. Moreover, Murphy, Shirley, and Witner report that social agency records reveal that police never learn who committed most criminal or delinquent acts.[6] Furthermore, boys from wealthier sections who commit the same kinds of offenses are four to five times less likely to appear in some official record than boys from poorer parts.[7]

Attempts have been made to collect data independently of official records. Case histories,[8] personal interviews,[9] and anonymous questionnaires,[10] have all been sources of data. All of these methods have produced findings which challenge the relationship between "socioeconomic" status and criminal or delinquent behavior.

Clark and Wenninger report:

> "Our findings are similar to those of Nye-Short and Dentler-Monroe in that we fail to detect any significant difference in illegal behavior rates among the social classes of rural and small urban areas."[11]

It is not just the disproportionate poverty among Blacks that explains the disproportionate number of them which comprise the criminal statistics. Equally important, and even more so, is the system of prejudice and discrimination to which Black men and women have been subjected over a long period of time in America, while physically chained and owned as chattels. It is, of course, a result of these countless decades of prejudice and discrimination that such a disproportionate number of Black Americans are today shackled, if not physically by chains, then at least by the system of injustice or the consequences of legalized injustice. Still rampant in America is prejudice and discrimination which is the point to be made here, and that there is evidence to support the contention that this prejudice and discrimination are manifested in the administration of justice in this country.[12] Therefore, Black men are more likely than white men to be convicted before the courts of law simply because they are Black, or because of what their blackness has come to mean to those in power to convict.

There has evolved, it seems, voluminous literature discussing the relationship between race on the one hand, and factors such as crime and the administration of justice on the other.

In his *Sociology of Deviant Behavior,* Clinard cites a number of correlates with race, including the matter of capital punishment. He points out that Blacks, as compared with whites, are executed in disproportionate numbers. In 1960, for example, when Black people accounted for slightly more than 10 percent of this country's total population, Blacks accounted for 60 percent of all persons executed for capital crimes in the United States.[13]

In discussing the relationship of laws to minority groups, Clinard argues that social norms and values sanctioning discrimination—such as beliefs of racial superiority, which are derived from various subcultural groups—have often been enacted into laws.[14] Clinard also discusses what he considers to be contradictions between the American creed and the actual treatment of Blacks in this country, contending that because of the prejudice and discrimination directed against them, Blacks are often denied the right of due process of law and the right of equal justice before the law.[15] The struggle between the American creed and racism, according to Clinard, is strong in certain parts of the United States where racial doctrines are reinforced, if not openly supported, by the law. He particularly cites evidence in terms of a mass of state laws and city ordinances which serve to enforce discriminatory laws and which, in turn, further the cause of racism.[16]

Of particular interest here is Clinard's discussion revolving around the administration of justice. He concludes that Blacks are much more likely than whites to find themselves subjected to physical brutality. Another of his conclusions is that oppressed group members, and particularly Blacks, are often dealt with more harshly by a judge than are the members of the oppressor group.

In attempting to explain the above, Clinard cites discriminatory practices in police employment, i.e., the preferential treatment shown non-Blacks and the discriminatory practices of courts in the seating of juries, i.e., the relative exclusion of Blacks.[17]

In "The Negro and Crime," Guy B. Johnson argues that when Blacks go into court they go with the consciousness that the whole courtroom process is in the hands of "the opposite race..—white judge, white jurors, white attorneys, white guards, white everything, except perhaps some of the witnesses and spectators.[18] According to Johnson, Black defendants and witnesses are frequently subjected to gross insults and are made the butt of various kinds of horseplay and coarse humor. He concludes that conditions such as these undoubtedly affect the statistical picture of crime, the efficiency of law enforcement, and the attitudes and motives which enter into the causation of crime.[19]

In *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society,* the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reports that the "factor of race is almost as important as that of sex in determining if a person is likely to be arrested and imprisoned for an offense," explaining that for persons over eighteen years of age, Blacks are arrested about five times as often as white.[20]

In their book, *Beyond the Melting Pot,* Glazer and Moynihan report that, in 1958 in New York City, more than two-fifths of all male first admissions and more than three-fifths of all female first admissions to institutions for detention or sentence were Blacks.[21]

The Presidential Advisory Group also reports that the differences in arrest rates for Blacks and whites are small when comparisons are made between persons having similar living conditions. The problem, it is explained, is that

Blacks generally encounter more barriers to economic and social advancement, thereby causing disproportionate numbers of them to live under conditions in which the crime rates tend to be high, regardless of color. Compared to their non-Black counterparts, Blacks tend to have poorer housing, lower incomes and fewer job prospects.[22]

The President's Commission further reports that the death sentence is disproportionately imposed and carried out on the poor, the Black and the members of unpopular groups.[23]

In discussing criminal procedures in general, this same advisory body concluded that the courts have not kept abreast of American social and economic changes. The judges, for example, seldom know anything at all about the defendant before the court. Consequently, the latter's dress, speech and manners are misinterpreted. The judge, whose background and whose values are usually "proper," if not properly middle class, is confronted with a poor, ignorant and uneducated offender: a type of offender not especially pleasing to, and not at all understood by, the middle class judge.[24]

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in the Task Force Report: The Courts conclude, that "the poor are arrested more often, convicted more frequently, sentenced more harshly, rehabilitated less successfully than the rest of society." It is argued that so long as social conditions that cause poverty remain, no reforms in the criminal process will eliminate this imbalance.[25]

In discussing the administration of justice in the American society, Hartung, in his *Crime, Law, and Society,* argues that justice is sometimes administered as punishment of minority groups, who, so to speak, get out of their place. He mentions, for example, that in 1963, thousands of Black Americans were arrested while attempting to exercise their constitutional rights.[26]

In still another work, The Judiciary, a discussion of political and racial equality concludes that as the 1960's came upon the scene, the segregation-integration controversy had by then become a matter of legal inequality.[27]

The Focus

Given the above findings on race as it relates to crime, our research should evolve around three basic issues. The first is to provide an understanding of the place of race in the United States. Secondly, to establish what policy is and its functions, and thirdly, an analysis of a number of crime issues as they relate to race and social policy.

Social policy can be seen as an attempt to regulate and thereby enhance the quality of life and well-being at the societal and communal level. Generally, social policy is political in the sense that one chooses for the many. Policy at the most abstract level, addresses itself to four basic issues or areas. These policy areas are: the development of mobilizable facilities—natural resources, goods and services; the allocation of functions, tasks and prerogatives by organization auspices; the distribution of rights, entitlements, goods, services to individuals and status groups; and, the determination of the extent to which development, allocation and distribution are linked to auspice or status. Policy is then both a structural effect and a cause of structuralization. It should be important to develop a concept of the function of social policy. It is important to recognize policies which seek to adjust for shortcomings, e.g., ameliorative or corrective policies, as opposed to policies which seek to continue or eliminate inequalities through distributive or allocative devices.

As suggested above policies are informed and limited by many factors, especially the structure of community and society. This means, for the United States that social policies on race profoundly influence crime and attendant policies. As a nation shaped in part by racialism, American society and communities will operate with greater or lesser consistency on several principles. These are the principles of non-Black domination and non-Black privilege; a national policy of constraining, transforming, destroying or interdicting the cultures of people of color; and administrative policy designed to control, manage and keep people of color in a kind of bondage.

A concept of social policy may be developed from several works which do this well enough: K.E. Boulding, "Boundaries of Social Policy," *Social Work:* 12 Jan. 1967; S.M. Miller and F. Riessman, *Social Class and Social Policy;* A. Macbeth, *Can Social Policies Be Rationally Tested?* Other works by Titmuss, Tawney, Lindblom and Vickers may be useful for this aspect of our concern.

We should develop an understanding of race and crime from a standpoint of general social theory and in terms of concrete institutional and individual forms and practices. It is instructive to compare Marxist with non-Marxist views in this context. Pierre Van den Berghe provides the best liberal theory in *Race and Racism;* Robert Blauner presents the best neo-Marxist view in a number of articles. For the workings of racism we should look at Myrdal's classsic, *An American Dilemma,* informed by Van den Berghe's or Blauner's theorizing. There are a number of biographical views which transcend the personal and provide deep insights into the U.S.: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X;* C. Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land;* Cleaver, *Soul on Ice,* etc.

Having gotten a grip on *policy, race and racism* a number of questions should be explored of which the following offers a sample:

1. *White domination and crime.* Where white domination is bureaucratically administered (the complete form of domination) and ethnics are "processed" by a variety of agencies, apparent crime rates and the perception of crime appears to be high. This may be a function of the perceptions of those who carry out the administrative processing of ethnics (Kephard; C.B. Johnson Clark); or, consequent upon the loss of a sense of ethnic and community solidarity (A.L. Woods; Pettigrew); a result of policing styles (Wilson; Bordua); or due to mobility efforts on the part of those ethnics oriented to white values (Merton); as well as counter culture and community claim efforts (Blauner; Knupfer; Kerner).
2. *Ethnic control and crime.* Where the ethnic group has undercut white domination, apparent crime rates and the perception of crime appears to be low. Ethnic control is achieved in several ways: isolation of the ethnic culture from white interdiction through purchase of the community—the Asian case; isolation of the culture through population and ecological exigencies—the Black and brown. In both Chinese and Japanese communities; crime rates are low. Low rates of apparent and actual crime seem to be related to the integrity of these cultures. Cultural integrity is enhanced by the fact that these communities tend to be owned (physically) by its members providing the economic and behavioral base for inner ethnic orientations and solidarity. Studies of all Black communities suggest the same pattern—Black control is associated with low crime rates: Mound Bayou had one murder in twenty yeras; Boley had the lowest

crime rate in Oklahoma for many years (Brearly: Hill; Hill and Ackiss). When all ethnic communities are penetrated by white domination, crime rates go up (Nicodemas, Kitano).

3. *Racial role, place and crime.* Some crime committed by ethnics appears to be intrusive assaults upon the society to correct deprivations, institutional injury and institutional failure. Group and individual orientations, aspirations, conceptions of place, and the extent to which society is perceived to be creditable or discredited, manageable or chaotic gives rise to different kinds of crime (Fanon; Memmi; Runciman; Mathews and Protho; Singleton). There are at least four major oreintations which in turn influence how the individual and group consciousness and crime relate to social structure (Blauner; Hobsbaum; Riot Commission Reports; Platt).

4. *Race and Corrections.* What has been suggested above in relation to generating crime also applies to ethnic response to correction efforts. Recent events at San Quentin, Soledad, Attica and other correctional facilities reflect the extent to which the ethnic felon no longer adjusts to prison life. At one time, for example, Black prisoners were models of behavior compared to whites (Federal Prisons: Von Hentig). Inner ethnic orientation, inner ethnic solidarity, the consequential rise in political consciousness, and the penetration of prisons by political and chiliastic organization has put an end to ethnic adjustment. The new ethnic prisoner knowing that sentence, treatment, and parole outcomes are not scaled with their offenses are peculiarly exposed to understanding the nature of American society (Hobsbaum; Meadows). Thus correctional failure has added an impact on ethnic communities as they come to see prison populations as a function of racial policy (Malcolm X; Jackson; Cleaver).

5. *Police and Race.* The contradictions faced by Third World public service work, policemen, probation workers, etc., are great. On the one hand, they are likely to embrace their roles in ways that make them stereotypically "bad." On the other hand, they show signs that they, like the Third World felon, are changing as a consequence of their double bind, and may constitute the group most willing to change police work from the inside. Many policies have been proposed to improve the quality of policing—community control, specialized recruitment, etc.—providing materials for exploration of such roles (Hershey; Whitmore; Alex; Frazier). Ethnic policemen as well as ethnics in other public service roles are in double bind: they feel the squeeze of isolation and rejection by community and agency. Because of the contradiction in such public service roles, political ethnic consciousness can be submerged or dramatically heightened. The influence of ethnicity on agency numbers, role, and change should be explored (Frazier; Alex; Skolnick).

6. *Race and Specific Crimes.* One starting point for looking at the relationship between race and crime is to explore differences and similarities in crime between ethnic groups (Bonger). Crime which requires craft and opportunity, e.g., embezzlement, fraud, counterfeiting, show equal rates between Blacks and whites. These crimes are interesting for they offer the chance to discern differences on other measures.

7. *Murder.* Blacks kill Blacks; whites kill whites (Wolfgang; Bensing and Schroeder). There the similarity ends: rates, convictions, sentences, and paroles are all unfavorable to Blacks and Browns. Many explanations are offered in explaining differences: class, relative deprivation, differential association,

anomie, subculture, etc. (Cohen; Cohen and Short; Miller; Whyte; Cressey; Sutherland and Cressey). These explanations require our attention.

8. *Predatory Crimes.* Absolute deprivation and ethnic community control ought to be considered as exploratory variables in predatory (victim-profit) crimes. For example, it has been suggested that during depression and recession, white commitment to prison for predatory crimes increase while Black commitments remain the same or go down for robbery, burglary, and larceny. This hints at the fact that depression can depress those at the bottom only so far, while those above are deprived in ways that push them into crime (Dobbins and Bass; Spirer).

9. *Intra-racial Rate Differences.* Third World rates differ from white rates on most crimes. There are regional, neighborhood and community differences within ethnic communities as well. In Durham, Black neighborhood crime rates differ as much as 500% (Brinton). Life styles have something to do with such differences and such considerations need further explorations (Woofter).

10. *Crimes of Racism.* To this point, the relationship between what might be apparent crime, race and social policy has been outlined. It would be remiss not to consider crime that emerges directly from racialist policies of the society. There is need for the exploration of (1) genocide against Indians, (Brown) and Blacks (Smith; Lerner); (2) federal and state collusion in depriving these groups of civil rights (Murray; Davis and Dollard; Kitigawa; Woodward); and (3) acts of oppression against racial status groups (Lerner; Herndon; Reich).

It should be our collective and concerted effort to determine how race has been used to define and explain real and apparent crime in the United States and how social policy, resulting therefrom, has oppressed and controlled Black people and their community.

FOOTNOTES

* *Fifth Conference on the Philosophy and Technology of Drug Assessment,* Belmont Conference Center, Elkridge, Md., April 8-10, 1973. Sponsored by: Interdisciplinary Communications Program of the Smithsonian Institution.

1. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, (1969) p. 462.

2. Definition by Irving Ladimer in: *Clinical Investigation in Medicine,* ed. by Irving Ladimer and Roger W. Newman, Law Medicine Research Institute, Boston, (1963) p. 27.

3. This and other codes can be found in Jay Katz, *Experimentation with Human Beings,* Russell Sage Foundation, 1973.

4. *Research on Human Subjects,* by Bernard Barber, et al. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1973, p. 1.

5. Three major works which have shown academicians' interest in the topic are: *Ethical Aspects of Experimentation with Human Subjects,* Daedalus, Spring, 1969 and, *Clinical Investigation in Medicine: Legal, Ethical and*

Moral Aspects, ed. by Irving Ladimer and Roger W. Newman, Law-Medicine Research Institute, Boston, 1963. Also a recently published work entitled: *Experimentation with Human Beings,* by Jay Katz, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1973.

6. See: Department of HEW guidelines published in the Office of Grants Administration Manual, Chap. 1-40. Also, see DRG Newsletter, May, 1971, published by NIH.

7. See: Kennedy Hearings on Health. U.S. Senate 1973.

8. Barber, op. cit., p. 95.

9. Margaret Mead, "The Study of Human Subjects," in Ladimer and Newman, p. 81.

10. Ladimer & Newman, op. cit., p. 219.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAMS SERVICING CHILDREN IN TROUBLE

by
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This discussion is focused from the level of executive direction in a huge superagency which is part of the unique governmental structure of the District of Columbia. The Department of Human Resources has been in existence since February 1970, and embraces the former Departments of Health, Welfare and Vocational Rehabilitation, as well as the Department of Veterans's Affairs. It consists presently of five administrations operating programs for human services: Community Health and Hospitals; Mental Health; Narcotics Treatment; Payments Assistance; and Social Rehabilitation. The Social Rehabilitation Administration consists of three bureaus: Family Services, Rehabilitation Services and Youth Services. The Bureau of Youth Services is comprised of three divisions: Community Care and Services (an outreach prevention program operated at the neighborhood level); Aftercare (with a Services Branch and a Youth Group Homes Branch); and Institutional Care and Services which operates two training schools for delinquents and one training school for Persons in Need of Supervision (PINS), as well as a detention facility for youths awaiting trial. The total range of programs thus includes: prevention efforts directed toward youths in danger of becoming delinquent; shelter care; secure detention; home detention; multi-discipline institutional care; post-institutional halfway houses; and aftercare. The Bureau of Youth Services; budgeted for 811 staff positions and just over $9 million is comparable to what some states define as a "Department of Youth Services."

This writer has held positions on other levels of responsibility in the system, but has been, for the past five years, primarily responsible for providing overall direction for the Bureau. This most recent experience dictates heavily the content of the following discussion.

We will confine our concept of organization and administration to publicly-funded programs operated by the executive branch of government at the local or state level. We do this primarily because of the authority vested in the justice system to supervise and care for children in trouble, but also because it appears that the *inherent* leadership role lies within governmental agencies whether or not it is, in fact, exercised by public officials charged with the responsibility. In a word, the *duty* of the advocate is *incumbent* upon government officials, even if they often find themselves being attacked for or outstripped in their zeal for protecting the rights of juveniles, by other voices who demand better systems of service.

In addition, the citizenry supports these programs with tax dollars and holds the administrators responsible for the results—good or bad! Even when the service is contracted to a private agency, a government official ultimately is held accountable for monitoring the contractual service.

Nonetheless, the important reason that government agencies occupy a natural position of central power is due to the funding which is channeled through them via state agency plans which embrace the private sector also.

We will look at organization and administration in three aspects: (1) the impact of the superagency embracing the human services system; (2) the management of multi-discipline treatment programs in institutional settings; and (3) the movement away from institutional care towards community-based treatment. In each aspect, we will explore how organizational and administrative concepts influence the practitioner's work in the treatment programs of the criminal justice system, as well as outline trends as we see them, and point out areas in which we believe research is needed. Interwoven throughout our impressions as practitioners will be allusions to our perspective of the experience of Black people which seemingly results from the organization and administration of programs serving those children and youth who teeter on the edge of the justice system or, eventually fall into its vortex.

The Role of Government in Organizing and Administering Programs of Service Delivery

John M. Swarthout and Ernest R. Bartley wrote a book entitled "Principles and Problems of American National Government," in which the first chapter is titled "Government and the Citizen."[1] It is a succinct, memorable statement with a timelessness about it which, in our opinion, marks it as one of the references to which one will return repeatedly when it becomes necessary to recall why men establish the rule of government over their daily existence. In part, the authors say this:

> . . . "For man, as Aristotle said, 'is by nature a political animal.' Wherever he lives, in whatever degree of civilization, he seems to find it necessary or desirable to organize himself politically, to establish a government that he recognizes as the proper and preeminent authority to regulate his relations with other men. It is through this political organization that other institutions of society are normally established and maintained, that the production of goods is organized, and that these goods are divided among people. How best to insure that government shall act to promote the common good, the cause of the common citizen, has been at all times and in all places a basic and a vital question."[2]

The authors say further: "More and more, whether he wills it or not, today's citizen is dependent upon governmental direction; more and more, the actions of his and other governments influence the course of his life."[3] They include later this statement about democracies which should be considered profound: "Over the long period, any great major action requires a large degree of public support, whatever the degree of party or pressure-group control may be at any one time."[4]

One of the major functions of the government has been the operation of a system of public safety to protect society from offenders, especially those who prey on people and property. We need not review here the long and gory history of how mankind has dealt with offenders over the centuries, ranging from cruel, swift, summary justice to the more sophisticated modern system of justice (particularly in the Western democracies) with its protections for offenders and system of judicial safeguards. Suffice it to say that the degree of sophistication evidenced by a political jurisdiction's administration of justice, as it strives to balance the rights of an individual offender and the protection of society, is generally conceded to be an indicator of the level of civilization attained by the populace involved.

In a classic work on public administration, edited by the eminent Fritz Morstein Marx, this was stated regarding the scope of public administration:

> "At its fullest range, public administration embraces every area and activity under the jurisdiction of public policy. We might even include the processes and operations through which the legislative branch is enabled to exercise its law-making power; there is much adroit management in the enactment of legislation. In the literal sense of the term, public administration also includes the functions of the courts—in the administration of justice—and the work of all the agencies, military as well as civilian, in the executive branch of government. An exhaustive treatise on public administration would, therefore, have to give consideration to judicial structure and procedure and likewise to special machinery and methods employed by the armed forces, in addition to legislative management. By established usage, however, the term 'public administration' has come to signify primarily the organization, personnel practices, and procedures essential to effective performance of the civilian functions entrusted to the executive branch of government. We shall use the term in this customary sense."[5]

We will use the same definition in this writing to define where we are starting with the role of government in the organization and administration of programs dealing with juveniles in trouble.

There are two points we want to make about the foregoing material; first, that men seem to innately yearn for a common authority over the human group to protect them from each other, and, second, that the classic concept of public administration conceptualizes the three branches of government working together somewhat harmoniously to develop public policy. Furthermore, we want to suggest that the past fifteen years have brought about major changes in the field of government and public administration because of the protests of the citizenry regarding public policy. This is especially so in the United States, where domestic and foreign policy have been challenged by private citizens marching in great demonstrations of protest against existing laws and official actions of public officials representing all three branches of government.

We follow the school of thought that says "government seems to work most effectively and efficiently when it has the support of the governed," as broadly referred to earlier by Swarthout and Bartley. Therefore, it seems to us that our current thoughts about government and public administration in our country has to embrace the notion that American citizens have asserted their role in recent years to be directed more towards political activity in the days of the frontier, when the newly-emerging nation of hunters and farmers took more direct action in the establishment of public policy and the administration of public affairs. These years have been characterized by a resurgence of citizen participation in government, perhaps in a more forceful manner than one would have foreseen shortly after World War II, and by an assertion of the right to be involved in the political process on the part of those who displayed no such strength in the early days of the Republic—i.e., American Indians, Blacks, poor and unpropertied Caucasians, and so forth. The shock wave of protests which rolled across

America during the sixties and early seventies sobered any observer who thought that the classic concepts of government public administration should govern how citizens expected public officials to perform. Citizens literally demanded civil rights in direct action campaigns mounted in the heart of the racist Southland; people sickened of war virtually invaded the field of foreign policy and forced the Government to deescalate the war in Southeast Asia; consumers following the lead of such advocates as Ralph Nader forced American businessmen to achieve a more equitable bargaining posture with the buyer; the "counter-culture" challenged the very existence of the national structure and all of the hallowed traditions adhered to by the majority of comfortable Americans; and the record could go on.

We want only to suggest that Americans have shown a deep discontent with the authority of government and its policies, and that the three branches of government have been in strident discord in recent years as they differed over public policy (such as the rights of criminals, civil rights, anti-pollution measures, and so forth). There has been a deep discontent with the workings of government which have cut across every level of the social structure. Powerful interests have felt that there was too much governmental control over their activities (especially) in business practices) and too little constraints over criminals and the protest movements. Middle America (generally conceived of as being about 90 million whites embracing a wide range of political, social, ethnic and economic factors) has complained that taxation is eroding away their standard of living to support a welfare state which provides comfort to criminals and their lazy, immoral female companions who have numerous children out of wedlock. Conservatives generally have criticized the "soft" handling of offenders by the justice system and have accused the Supreme Court of being soft-headed regarding decisions affecting the rights of persons facing the bar of justice. Minority groups (and poor people in general) have protested bitterly that government policies have not been conducive to their advancement in our society and that they have been oppressed. Americans generally have complained that government has become too costly, and that it has been ineffective and inefficient. Peter F. Drucker describes his perception of what has happened to government and the citizenry who live under it in recent decades in his remarkable book entitled "The Age of Discontinuity."[6] For purposes of our discussion, we recommend particularly the chapter headed: "The Sickness of Government," in which he states:

> "Government is certainly all-pervasive. But is it truly strong? Or is it only big?
>
> There is mounting evidence that government is big rather than strong; that it is fat and flabby rather than powerful; that it costs a great deal but does not achieve much. There is mounting evidence also that the citizen less and less believes in government and is increasingly disenchanted with it. Indeed, government is sick—and just at the time when we need a strong, healthy, and vigorous government."[7]

Drucker goes on to describe the alienation that citizens are feeling toward their government as they become disillusioned about its ability to produce services for their benefit. He points out that this disenchantment cuts across national and ideological lines, illustrating that nations in various parts of the globe are experiencing similar internal attitudes about the cost-benefits of governmental programs. He states as the main reason for these attitudes these opinions:

> "But the greatest factor in the disenchantment with government is that government has not performed. The record over these last thirty or forty years has been dismal. Government has proved itself capable of doing only two things with great effectiveness. It can wage war. And it can inflate the currency. Other things it can promise but only rarely accomplish."[8]

Further on, Drucker coins a phrase that will linger on in the memory of a reader, I suspect:

> The best we get from government in the welfare state is *competent mediocrity*. More often we do not even get that; we get incompetence such as we would not tolerate in an insurance company. In every country there are big areas of government administration where there is no performance whatever—only costs.[9]

One of Drucker's recommendations for escaping from the malaise in which we find ourselves is the reprivatization of government; that is, returning to private operation many of the businesses and functions which have been controlled by government in the past quarter of a century—or which may traditionally have been seen as being within the province of government to operation. He argues that business is best equipped to manage because it is the most adaptable and the most flexible of the institutions around, and operates against a yardstick measuring accomplishment. Interestingly, he makes the following qualifying statement regarding the uniqueness of business for reprivatization:

> "Reprivatization is still heretical doctrine. But it is no longer heretical practice. Reprivatization is hardly a creed of "fat cat millionaires" when Black-power advocates seriously propose making education in the slums "competitive" by turning it over to private enterprise, competing for the tax dollar on the basis of proven performance in teaching ghetto children. It may be argued that the problems of the Black ghetto in the American city are very peculiar problems—and so they are. They are extreme malfunctions of modern government. But, if reprivatization works in the extreme case, it is likely to work even better in less desperate ones."[10]

We will want to refer back to the comments about Black-power advocates later in our discussion, but, for the moment, let us move to the responses of policy-making governmental officials and high-ranking politicians to the hue and cry over big, inefficient government. This leads us into a discussion of one of our major areas of concern: the super-organization and administration of human services systems.

The Organization and Administration of Human Services Systems

Politicians, professional administrators, practitioners in various disciplines operating governmental services—all of these vested interests have been responding for the past decade to the mounting criticism of governmental services. They have been trying such reorganizations as multi-services centers (of which there are about 200 in the country at present) in which a citizen can make one stop and receive health benefits, financial assistance, mental health care, job counseling and placement, and so forth. This trend has been given major support by the stated intentions and efforts of the Nixon Administration to reorganize the executive branch of the Federal Government. The U.S. Government Printing Office published a booklet entitled "Papers Relating To The President's Departmental Reorganization Program"[11] in March, 1971, in which the President outlines his proposal to reorganize the present executive branch into eight super departments. One of these is tentatively called "the Department of Human Resources", which will be our major point of comparison for purposes of this paper. It is the concept of gathering together those governmental functions related to "human services"—health, education, welfare, manpower, mental health, etc.—under one umbrella of administration and management. The effort is seen as being one of aligning like functions to avoid duplication, overlapping and gaps in services.

This alignment at the national level has strong effect on state and local governments because, if they wish to seek federal funding, they will have to align their services along similar lines as they draw up state agency plans to comply with federal regulations. Therefore, the movement to develop super-agencies along the same lines is spreading across the nation, even though the process is not complete at the national level, and may be interrupted seriously by the fallout caused by the Watergate affairs. Credibility of the Presidency is at stake, and the existence of enough political clout and persuasiveness to get Congress to support the reorganization in the face of built-in vested interests who do not want to give up their kingdoms is highly questionable at the time of this writing. Even so, about 26 states have organized "departments of human resources or human services" in line with the trend.

What does this mean to a practitioner who works in some component of the justice system? How does it affect youth serving agencies?

A central issue is whether a jurisdiction will organize all of its human services under one umbrella, including adult and juvenile corrections. Nowhere in the President's plans, for example, do the programs for delinquency prevention and rehabilitation stand out as a separate and distinct organization as they had in the former Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. At that time, there was an "Office of Delinquency Prevention and Rehabilitation" which has been incorporated into the Office of Youth Development and Prevention Administration of the Social Rehabilitation Services. It has become increasingly apparent to those of us in the field who have looked to H.E.W. for leadership in the delinquency field, that a new philosophy has been controlling the operations of these programs within that important department. Very simply, it seems to be this: the problem of crime and delinquency is now being viewed along the functional lines of a human services system, where help is brought to bear for the individual and his family according to specific problems, with every effort being made to avoid having parallel agencies offering similar services and with each having its own pipeline to federal funds. This causes some professionals to resist losing the identity of the monolithic youth-serving agency known as a "department of youth services," or a "youth administration," and so forth. An interesting exposition on how children and youth services should be organized, according to one viewpoint, can be found in an article written by William Sheridan and reprinted in *Federal Probation*, September, 1969.[12] There is, then, an ambivalence in the field regarding whether youth services should be organized into a central youth-servicing agency (as Sheridan recommends) or should be located in a global department of human services.

It is our considered opinion, after much evaluation of pros and cons, that these programs should be organized and administered in a human services system. We have said for years in the field that "the child and his family should be served as a unit by a single agency." Since most of the human services needed by a family lie with the majority of the human services system; then, it seems to us, the youth-serving function is more properly located with them. Furthermore, we would not recommend that the human services be transferred to a central youth-serving agency merely to accommodate the principle of "not separating the child from his family." In addition, it seems to us that the Chief Executive (President, Governor, Mayor, whatever) has the advantage of touching one administrator to get an integrated delivery of services when the realignments are accomplished. The organization of these varied programs is vitally important if improvement in service delivery is to be anticipated. We would suggest that all of the human services be lined up along functional lines to the top administrator, and be decentralized into multi-service centers with a unified intake where a citizen can make one stop to get all of the services of his government. Additionally, a strong diagnostic and screening process should be established within the multi-service center to plan services according to problems and needs. An information and referral system, with automated data retrieval, is essential to the success of these integrated operations. Strong accountability for results of programmatic efforts should be built into the data system.

We believe a jurisdiction would be well into tomorrow if it would begin to perceive of the human services in such a manner.

As a practitioner in the criminal justice system, we have another reason for being optimistic about the human services system. It is simply that the executive branch programs which serve the justice system will have a greater power to cope with the other components of the justice system from the posture of a "Department of Human Resources." We have seen fifteen years of trends in the administration of juvenile justice in the District of Columbia, and have known the time when the behavioral scientists (generally in probation or rehabilitation) have had too much influence over the destinies of juveniles. Too many children were committed to institutions because "the environment is too hazardous in their home," and too many children stayed too long in institutions because "they had not adjusted satisfactorily" or "the hazardous home still was not ready." This was not good and did abrogate the natural and legal rights of juveniles.

The coming of the legal suits under the "rights of juveniles" and the "right to treatment" was overdue and came as a great boost to advocacy. The *Kent, Gault* and *In re Whittemore* cases, which returned criminal law procedure to the juvenile court setting, established case law on which adversary proceedings take place today rather than the former "parens patriae" or "in loco parentis" type of judicial deliberations. However, we would suggest that the situation has become too much "defense" at this point, and that the pendulum needs to swing more toward the middle. There is much unofficial information, coming from across the nation, that children and youth who could benefit from some agency support or supervision are being freed by the court because of the astuteness of their lawyers, and that they are continuing careers of delinquency which are leading them into the adult system at an early age on a waiver. Adult systems around the nation—including that of the District of Columbia—are becoming crowded with youthful offenders in the 17 to 18 years age range. The Department of Corrections of the District of Columbia recently stated that the average age in its Lorton Complex for adults is 22, which is a drop downward indicating the impact of the youthful offender.[13]

Our private information, given in confidence by several lawyers, is that they have uneasy feelings about the futures of some of the juveniles for whom they are successful in winning freedom in the courtroom. Some legal agencies are venturing into "social services" to defendants whom they have kept on the streets in order to "protect their investment in the client," so to speak.

We are suggesting merely that a closer relationship based on mutual respect and confidence has to be developed among the components of the justice system if it is to work to the best advantage of the community it serves. It is always to the advantage of good government, it seems to us, when no one of the three branches rises to a position of real paramountcy over the others. They must check and balance each other if our democracy is to function as well as possible.

It is the organization and administration of a comprehensive child care system within the umbrella of a human services agency that we see as having the necessary power to assert the executive branch's role in the justice system. It is from this position of organizational strength that the official role of child advocacy can best be expressed in the affairs of the community.

Let us examine institutions which are in the changing concepts of programmatic organization.

The Organization and Administration of Institutional Programs

We are viewing the organization and administration of institutions from two angles: (1) carrying out the daily operations (housing, feeding, clothing, transporting, etc.); and (2) offering a program of treatment (or rehabilitation, or re-socialization, according to one's preference of terminology). Actually, the two perspectives are interwoven. An administrator must strive to develop a physical environment which is conducive to the existence of excellent treatment modalities, and hopefully, the opportunity must be present constantly for staff to use any feature of the daily operations as an adjunct to the re-socialization process. It must be possible for staff development to be all-pervasive in the way that institutional dynamics are utilized as learning experiences on an ad hoc basis. For example, a staff person having conflict with a youth can gain insight on the spot according to how the supervisor seizes the opportunity to impart some wisdom to the staff member regarding the handling of acting out behavior.

One truism is the concept that the institution is a reflection of the administrator's goals and objectives, and his ability to lead the organization toward the realization of them. One discussion widely-read in the field describes the institution as being the "length and breadth of the shadow of the superintendent."[14] Another more scholarly work states that the administrator's philosophy is embodied in the organizational goals which are written into the procedures which guide staff.[15]

The latter reference is to a book entitled "Organization for Treatment," by Street, Vinter and Perrow,[16] in which a comparative study was made of six public and private institutions for males. This is a relatively recent work (1966), and it is recommended to anyone who wants a better understanding of the reality of institutions—and what their future role may be in the justice system.

Street, et al, find, among other things, that different administrative schools of thought characterize the various institutions in the study and they group them as follows: (1) the obedience-conformity model; (2) the re-education development structure; and (3) the treatment modality. In essence, the goals and objectives as written in procedures and policies were to achieve one of the three foregoing programmatic ends.

It is our opinion that their summary of findings is a classic statement of the experience and frustrations of institutional administrators everywhere, and we can identify with the conclusions based on our own administrative assignments in the Department of Human Resources. They conclude that:

1. Treatment-oriented staff must be in control of operations and decision-making;
2. Implementation of treatment requires good public relations with and support from the surrounding community;
3. Treatment programs necessitate a high degree of organizational flexibility;
4. Executive leadership is crucial to producing change;
5. Institutions are limited in making a treatment model work;
6. None of the institutions were truly successful in producing changes appropriate to the lives the inmates would lead on the outside.[17]

We have often referred to this book because it was published while we were in the midst of developing a career of institutional administration. Literally, its pages came alive as we became immersed in the internal dynamics of Cedar Knoll School, a co-educational institution for delinquents committed by the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia. It is located near Laurel, Maryland, and absconders flee through at least six police jurisdictions to return to the District, many of which present hostile or indifferent reactions to a problem which seems to "belong to the city rather than to the suburbs."

We found quickly that the great challenge of organizing and administering an institution was to find a way of melding into a single force the many attitudes—often at variance with each other—emanating from the staff who would have to care for the children. Institutions literally are hotbeds of attitudes and values regarding the child-rearing practices, ranging from "they have been running wild all of their lives and need tight control" to "the poor dears have been much-abused and need love and affection is a loosely controlled environment." In any gathering of staff, the administrator is confronted with this range of perceptions regarding how one should rear children and the causation and treatment of delinquent behavior.

How then does he lead the organization away from a purely custodial operation toward a more treatment-oriented environment?

First, he must establish the fact that he believes personally that treatment or re-socialization have more desirable ends than merely maintaining a child in custodial restraints. However, he must assure the staff that a good, workable balance of custody and treatment is needed to move in this direction. There must be order and supervision in the institution and the stronger youths cannot be allowed to intimidate those who are weaker. Nor can overly-rigid staff be allowed to mishandle or abuse the children, or their "human rights" to dignified treatment, or their legal "right to treatment" as required by statute. It can be undesirable in some cases to be too "treatment-oriented," just as it is generally of little constructive value to be too custodially-geared in operations. Either methodology can lead to a chaotic upheaval which is deleterious to the best interests of the children. It seems that—as is so often the case in human affairs—the middle road, exercising ample and adequate portions of custody *and* treatment, is the best route along which to move the organization, if significant progress is to be achieved.

Secondly, the same administrative philosophy must flow into the staff and resident groups simultaneously to achieve common goals and objectives. The administrator cannot "free" the staff and "chain" the residents, nor can he set the residents at liberty and confine the staff. We have had administrators share with us their travails when they entered a position and attempted to change an institution overnight by immediately ordering that most of the custodial controls be eliminated without properly preparing both staff and residents for the new dynamics. One frustrated, well-intentioned superintendent lost several hundred residents who absconded across the countryside. Simultaneously, his staff supported by frightened conservatives in the community, complained en masse to the governor, about this "crazy, wild-eyed, liberal social worker who did not know what he was doing!" Consequently, he was forced to re-group, lower his sights, and plan a different strategy for organizing and administering the institution.

On the other hand, we know personally of an administrator who was the very essence of the "good custodian"—and there are such persons. When the need is tight control because an institution has gotten out of hand, there are certain mechanisms which have been utilized traditionally. These may be: tightly supervised movement of residents in group formation; use of a pass system for unescorted movement about the grounds; rigid rules for conformity to dress for various occasions; stringent enforcement of punishment for infractions regardless of mitigating circumstances or the need to consider individuals separately; vigorous pursuit of absconders into and through the community until they are returned to custody; and so forth.

Most assuredly, as was the experience of our administrator above, there will be a build-up of tension and resentment which leads to an upheaval of some kind. History past and current is alive with examples of this phenomenon in both adult and juvenile institutions. Again, we reinforce the concept that it is the middle ground—maintaining good supervision while offering every possible vestige of treatment—that is the more tenable for an administration.

It is essential that all staff and residents understand and support the legitimate treatment, goals and objectives of the administrator to develop an environment which affords re-socialization opportunities in the maximum number of interchanges and interfaces between staff and residents. There must be a minimum amount of chances to misinterpret the administrator's directives as meaning "an excuse to goof off" or "a means of disrespecting the staff," or, on the other hand, "the opportunity to get even with a resident" or "to show the children who is in charge."

Thirdly, the administrator must be a child advocate and, very simply, his advocacy must be expressed in how he uses the physical environment and the interpersonal treatment relationships between staff and residents against the backdrop of the physical plant. His administrative relationships must govern the interplay of these two factors to achieve the treatment milieu. Policies regarding: the use of locks; "unsupervised" activities, so a staff member can allow several activities to go on in and around the cottage simultaneously to afford individualization; the daily schedule of "treatment" staff (professionals, in the common understanding as a rule), allowing for hours built around the life space of the child rather than the administrative comfort of the staff; the type and frequency of rewards and punishment; and so forth—all of these are examples of how the administrator can assume his role as advocate.

He must be the first to seek program evaluation for effectiveness and efficiency, and be prepared to eliminate or change directions when a programmatic feature is no longer useful. He must make every effort to tie his program closer to existing community resources and avoid establishing a "parallel," or concomitant civilization within the institution when the child's world (to which he *must* return) exists already and continues to develop in a never-ending process of change. The administrator cannot build an isolated world which somehow causes the child to lose his rightful niche in his home and the community, and which leads the child into that useless state of becoming dependent upon institutional structures.

In his advocacy, the administrator must lead the staff into accepting the idea that the institution must be seen as an element of a total range of human services offered to the child and his family. The institution is an adjunct to the system of community-based resources, and should be utilized *only for public safety* or *for the child's own welfare* wherein diagnostically he appears to be in need of a controlled treatment environment. Even so, where public safety and the child's welfare are the concerns, the institution should be the ultimate choice after the range of community services has been thoroughly evaluated for possibility of maintaining the child in the community.

Much institutional leadership today has to involve setting a tone for a staff which will help them accommodate to the nationwide movement to de-emphasize and indeed, close institutions. The criticisms leveled at institutions by other advocates in the community often are taken as personal attacks by staff, and are felt as painful blows to their sense of worth and integrity. This is especially true when the critic uses a blanket approach, which seems to indicate that institutions are total failures without any saving features, and that institutional staff generally are self-serving, insensitive to the needs of children, and anxious to perpetuate a system in which they earn their livelihood. In this case, it seems wise for the administrator to become well aware of the issues—pro and con—so he can develop a climate of knowledge among staff on which basis the institution can play a constructive role in bringing about change.

He cannot be a faddist, jumping on the bandwagon because "Massachusetts of California" began to close institutions. He must know his community, its attitudes and resources, in order to provide leadership. We saw a statement recently which typifies the posture the administrator ought not to find himself in, to wit: "There they go! I must hasten to catch them because I am their leader!" Unfortunately, there are those types who are making much noise as they seek to "catch their followers" and who, as the saying goes, "are more orthodox because they are converts."

It seems to us, as the nation begins in the 1970's to move away from institutional placement and toward community-based treatment, that the most constructive role of the administrator can be to avoid an organization and administration of the institution which shuts out the community. He should develop the most intensive, useful treatment program possible within available resources and report faithfully to the community what he is or is not achieving. In our opinion, he can provide facts which the community can utilize in determining whether or not it wants to continue to maintain the institution. He *must* avoid the administrative arrogance of declaring that *he* will close the institution because he has caught the religion now; instead, he should present the factual picture of what the institution can and cannot accomplish *to the community,* and let the voting tax-payers decide how they want offenders against the group to be handled.

This will be difficult because the crusade to close institutions has begun, and an administrator who does not immediately join the ranks in full uniform is marching to a different drummer who is "out of tune with the times." The prestigious President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson in July, 1965, helped to establish the current move toward community treatment by making certain recommendations in its report, to wit:

> "Correctional authorities should develop more extensive community programs providing special intensive treatment as an alternative to institutionalization for both juvenile and adult offenders."[18]

The report states further:

> "The model institution would be relatively small and located as close as possible to areas from which it draws its inmates, probably in or near a city rather than in a remote location. While it might have a few high-security units for short-term detention under unusual circumstances, difficult and dangerous inmates would be sent to other institutions for longer confinement."[19]

The movement has gained momentum especially with the efforts of California as reported in "The Quiet Revolution."[20] This program, wherein the state subsidized counties to maintain convicted offenders on probation rather than placing them in institutions, led to the halting of construction and the decrease in institutional placement.

Massachusetts has seen a dramatic development in which the Department of Youth Services closed its institutions. We attended a conference at Boston College in June, 1972, which had the theme "The Closing Down of Institutions and New Strategies in Youth Services." The conference proceedings are published under the same theme as a title.[21] There was a fervor in that three-day meeting unlike anything this writer has experienced in many years. Throughout the conference, there was no question that this movement would sweep the country, but only the issue of who would be next remained unanswered. We recommend that any interested person read the proceedings especially because of the discussion of how to move into wide-scale community treatment.

And it is this subject on which we wish to close this paper.

The Movement To Community-Based Treatment

There is no movement among the political-social institutions more potent with factors related to community acceptance than the trend toward establishing small treatment facilities for adjudicated offenders in or near the neighborhoods from which they come.

We are also fascinated with the idea that there could be a day in the foreseeable future when there will be no children in America incarcerated in institutions, moreover we are particularly intrigued with the possibilities for the District of Columbia, where the Department of Human Resources' institutions have seen a dramatic drop in population. Specifically the institution for dependents, Junior Village, now houses ten children (a drastic drop from a high of 911 in 1965) and is scheduled to close in September, 1973. Cedar Knoll School, built to house 550 delinquent children, now averages 190 youngsters on the rosters daily; Oak Hill Youth Center, constructed to provide residence for 150 older, more aggressive male delinquents, reflects an average daily population of 70 residents, Maple Glen School, designed to house 240 children, now provides care for a population of persons in need of supervision (PINS), and reflects an average daily population of 170 children enrolled. Clearly, the return of adversary proceedings under more criminal law procedure in the juvenile court is having its effect, and every reasonable effort is being made to avoid placing children in institutions and to maintain them with community-based programs.

Thus, the Distrtrict of Columbia is moving into a position which could generate the further closing of juvenile institutions. There is one drawback, however; the provisions in the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970 prohibits commingling of persons in need of supervision (PINS) and adjudicated delinquents in the various facilities administered by the Department. Additionally, about 90 per cent of the residents at Oak Hill Youth Center are remanded to that security facility by specific directions in the court order, probably because of the seriousness and repetitive nature of their offenses.

Even so, the promise of even more reduction in the use of institutions as the placement of choice remains clearly with us in the District of Columbia; however, it is equally clear that the court will expect agency supervision of a certain number of juveniles even though they are being serviced in community-based facilities. This entails expansion of community facilities, and leads us into a discussion of the community's attitudes toward and responsibilities for community treatment.

What *does* the community believe about the desirability of locating treatment facilities for juveniles and adults in or near the community itself? What are some of the myths and realities of community perceptions of offenders and how they should be handled by the justice system? Just what *is* "the community" and can it be conveniently identified so attitudes can be measured more accurately? Do race and class become factors in sampling community attitudes? Is the community really "a better world" than that of the remote institution, and are we planning to move youngsters back to an environment which differs significantly from the institutional culture?

These are but a few of the questions which must be dealt with as we plan to move away from institutions toward community treatment programs.

We in the District (both in the Department of Human Resources and the adult Department of Corrections) have felt the wrath and resistance of community groups who believe community treatment may be "all right, but should be located in someone else's neighborhood." We have been kept out of middle and upper-class neighborhoods and have had to confine our youth group homes in and around the inner city where there is virtually no resistance, except from one civic association. Nonetheless, one spokeswoman for this civic association has petitioned the city's government officialdom, as well as the U.S. Congress, to "stop city agencies from turning her lovely neighborhood into an open psychiatric ward by placing all of those crazy criminals in these half-way houses." We have had to assure her that females would not offend her if they lived in a youth group home in her community, but we have not convinced her. Consequently, we have been told by the owner, who apparently succumbed to group pressure, that the lease will not be renewed.

This experience generally, with a few exceptions, is shared by correctional administrators nationwide.

Then we must consider certain myths, and deal with the realities of how the community perceives offenders and how they should be treated by the criminal justice system. We consider one myth to be "that all Black people stick together and help each other in a solid bloc of mutual support." The reality of our experience has been that middle-class Blacks in the District have been just as adamant as the Caucasians about preventing location of facilities for "those young hoodlums" in their communities. Recently, popular literature has revealed stories of many Black families who are fleeing to the suburbs to escape from pollution, congestion, undesirable housing, expensive housing, and, among other irritants, crime, generally perpetrated by Black criminals (or other ethnic minorities in the major cities).

Interestingly, the studies made by Marvin Wolfgang in the 1950's regarding homicide, in which he concluded that Blacks generally perpetrated violent crime against each other rather than against other racial groups because of living together in a frustrating social situation, are now being substantiated by Blacks who are voicing their fear of violent criminals—Black or White. Earlier, there were some critics who thought Wolfgang was venturing into a world with which he was unfamiliar and that his conclusions were only erroneous assumptions.

Joe Y. Smith, a reporter for The Washington Post, wrote an enlightening article entitled "Crime Is Constant Concern for Black Washington Residents" published in November, 1972.[22] His revealing statistics, taken from the Metropolitan Police Department files, show for fiscal year 1971 the following: (1) serious crimes against person—6,651 white complainants and 14,386 Black complainants: (2) robbery and related crimes such as purse-snatching—6,015 white complainants and 10,086 complainants from non-whites; (3) murder, manslaughter and negligent homicide—27 complaints involving whites and 201 complaints involving Black; and (4) rape and related crimes—113 white complainants and 349 Black complainants.

Obviously, if this information is accurate, it means that "brothers and sisters are ripping off each other." And the victims are complaining and running as far as their money will allow them to go! (Editor's Note: Since the first Annual Workshop, Jet Magazine, on July 12, 1973, devoted space to a cover story article entitled "Black on Black Crime" by William Earl Berry. The story includes a survey of 12 major cities, and reports the same basic information on the "Black on Black murder rate" as indicated by The Washington Post article.)

It seems to us that the question of what to do about those offenders who seriously harm or threaten other people continues to pose an age-old problem, which finds us caught between barbaric capital punishment and humane re-socialization or rehabilitation. These concerns are crossing class and race lines, with those persons, who believe they are of a different "class" than the criminal who perpetrates the traditional offenses known as "street crime," forming alliances in crying for police protection (regardless, *this* year, of whether the police officers are Black or White—witness the demand by Black citizens in Southeast Washington, D.C. after several teen-age Black girls were slain). One Black writer, Orge Coomb[illegible]te an article for the New Yorker Magazine entitled "It's Blacks Wh[illegible]Stop Crime" which was reprinted in the Washington Post of Decem[illegible]1972.[23] Briefly, he too states that violent Black criminals are pre[illegible] other Blacks, and that Blacks really must solve the problem in the[illegible] communities by taking vigorous "citizen action." Undoubtedly, two or three years ago Coombs would have been called an Uncle Tom for this writing, but today he is finding a sympathetic response from an increasing number of Black readers! The "community," to which we plan to move the institutions in the age of community-based treatment, is a diffuse, complicated, sometimes-amorphous entity which comes and goes; appears and disappears and then reappears; coalesces around a given issue then dissolves into emphemera; eludes us when we need most to be able to grasp its true meaning.

Consider for a moment some of the larger aspects of what we are confronted with as we try to establish a massive system of community-based re-socialization facilities. We discussed at the outset the vast churning of reorganization of human services programs in the executive branch, and we have pointed out some of the major problems in operating institutional programs so that they have a positive effect on offenders. Now we are attempting to re-locate the rehabilitative thrust to the community at a time when government has not consolidated its position regarding how all human services will be delivered to the citizenry. We are approaching a fearful community, with our proposition, when it is very much divided and suspicious over some aspects of the crime problem, especially the issue of whether a Black criminal is a political victim who should be "understood" and perhaps handled more gently, or whether he is a traditional criminal like all others who commit the same acts. The established justice system, recognizing that the movement is gaining momentum in America, seems to be trying to make adjustments so it will maintain its traditional role of controlling and guiding what happens in terms of dogma, methodology, goals and objectives, and so forth. Literally, everything is very much in ferment which will determine the success of moving treatment programs on a large scale into the community.

We have read with interest the accounts of the politicalization of prisons, especially the celebrated institutions of California which became noted because of the Soledad Brothers, Eldridge Cleaver and Angela Davis, and others. Ebony Magazine printed an article writen by Ms. Davis, while she was in the Marin County Jail during 1971 awaiting her much-publicized trial, entitled "Rhetoric versus Reality" in which she develops a discourse on how Blacks and other minorities have been exploited systematically by the establishment, and that the prison system has now been given the political function to control all militant voices which speak out against "establishment atrocities perpetrated against the people."[24] She speaks of prison administrators taking political reprisals against militants (especially Blacks) behind the walls. This same cry was to be raised by the inmate spokesmen of Attica, Walpole, and other prisons around the nation where Blacks, other minorities, poor whites and Third World activitists are being held.

Daniel Glaser, eminent professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California, points out that the concept of "political prisoners" is alien to American legal philosophy but is well-established in Europe, where criminal codes long specified that those imprisoned for a political offense are to be less harshly treated than those incarcerated for ordinary crimes.[25] He states further:

> "American prisoners are sentenced for violations of criminal codes which make no references to political motivation, and all are sent to the same jails and prisons.[26]

He comments on the handling of civil rights demonstrators, anti-war marchers, and so forth, by the justice system in recent years, and how prisoners with such backgrounds have seen themselves as patriots rather than pariahs, and have assumed leadership roles in prison. Glaser also points out the fact that prison populations generally are heavily representative of minority groups (whereas the staff are predominantly white Anglo-Saxons), and indicates that this neatly lends itself to the perception on the part of the minority prisoner that the workings of administrative machinery (parole, etc.) are weighted against him for political reasons.[27]

Eldridge Cleaver, of Black Panther note, in a speech given at Stanford University on October 1, 1968, alluded strongly to his feelings of being a political victim, stressing that Governor Ronald Reagan and his parole officer were trying to block him from legitimate academic pursuits and return him to prison to quiet his militant voice.[28]

Harper's Magazine devoted considerable space to an article entitled "War Behind Walls," by Edward Bunker, in its issue for February, 1972.[29] It describes in frightening detail what it means to be incarcerated in California's prisons today in terms of racial strife, administrative inadequacies for handling inmate violence, and brutal conditions in general. The closing sentences of the article states this ominous premise and fatalistic question:

> "In California prisons, it's too late for reapproachment between races. Could it be a precursor for society as a whole?"[30]

We would like to take Bunker's words and re-examine our comments regarding the politicalization of prisons and raise a question of our own: Were the prisons the genesis of the concept of political crimes or was the notion—so new to America—spawned in the community outside the walls during the recent years of challenging the established order on the part of a wide variety of elements of our society? If the imprisoned writers such as Davis, Cleaver, Huey Newton, and George Jackson were right in their assertions that the justice system (especially the prisons) is a tool of the power structure to control those who rise up against it, without our considering the merits of what is or is not a political crime, then the matrix of all social change seems then to remain firmly in the community-at-large, the so-called "Free World." The prison, or juvenile institution, then, only reflects what is occurring in the society as a whole, and we support this latter contention.

An important fact is that whether or not the administrators of the justice system agree with the contention of those writers who espouse the concept of "political crime," the attitude of offenders must be dealt with as a reality affecting our methodology. It has to be treated in the context of the rehabilitative (re-socialization) process.

Therefore, we pose this thought for consideration, that if we were to return residents of institutions to community programs on a large scale, we are involving youths and men to whom "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," "Soul On Ice," "Manchild in a Promised Land"—most of the literature of persons who point an icy finger of accusation at the reality of America's social system—have become the sources of their beliefs and their philosophies. Furthermore, those youths who have not been apprehended and confined by the justice system often have similar persuasions. Already, we are hearing rationalizations that "everyone is ripping off—just don't get caught" and "look at the Watergate—even the big boys break in and steal!" It effects the plan and operation of programs, because the attitude of the offender is vital in developing treatment modalities.

Query: How do we utilize guilt feelings, or tinges of remorse, on the part of the offender, if he does not feel that he has done anything wrong, that he is really a political victim himself?

Another query: How do we set up a meaningful operation at the neighborhood level where similar attitudes of resentment and suspicion exist in the surrounding population, and where "outwitting the man" in "hustling" may be a way of life?

Final query: How may *staff members* who supposedly are trying to help the youth become re-socialized have similar attitudes, based on their own experiences, about the truth of America? What effect could this have on the rehabilitation process, if it is in truth a significant factor?

We watched, at the Boston College Conference referred to earlier, what appeared to be a frantic scrambling on the part of those behavioral scientists, who have dominated the field of rehabilitation for decades (mainly of basically Freudian roots), to get in on the ground floor of the move to community-based correctional programs. It seemed to us that they were trying to repackage the same medical-psychiatric model used in institutions and present it as a "new thing" for the community. *We question much of the utility of this methodology* in programs located in the inner city, and this may apply to other cultural enclaves such as rural Appalachia.

Our premise is this: we accept the thinking regarding the self-concept; the individual and his group; the shaping of personality by socializers around the individual; and the interplay of the human relationships against the backdrop of the physical environment. What we are questioning is a concept of the socialization process which is still entirely too prevalent in the field, i.e., that many of the persons in the youth's environment are being described to him by staff as being "bad influences" on him, whereas he sees them as positive socializers. Many cases are known to us wherein the gambler, prostitude, fencer, whatever, have been the saviors of the youth's family in time of need or during the poignant holidays such as Easter and Christmas. Have we unwittingly been killing off half, or more, of his self-concept and general sense of esteem—even as we were trying to enhance this part of his development—by saying to him "put aside these 'bad' relationships, try to be like 'us'?" We wonder.

We are suggesting that as we move the programs into the community that we must envision a truly cosmopolitan configuration of the social scene. We do *not* believe that community treatment will be any more successful than have been the institutions without strong community support, which makes it even more important to define the *real* community as we plan and implement these programs. It may mean that a board of directors or advisory council for a community treatment center may include social types of a spectrum ranging from local businessmen, through housewives, to some of the community powers who might otherwise be known as "hustlers" (e.g., gamblers). Somehow, *the* "community" must be involved heavily and see the operation as being *its* thing. This will be especially important when we have our failures, and the community feels threatened by the youths living in their midst who have already been the court route and who have not been "cured" of their penchant for commiting violent crime. Clifford R. Shaw's area projects in the early 1930's, one aim of which was to involve indigenous leadership in the neighborhood (including erstwhile underworld figures), was an early effort to define the community, so as to include the real control forces in a delinquency prevention effort. It still has elements for a model; e.g., working right at the neighborhood level; recognizing the de facto power of an area and trying to wed it to other elements of influence such as legitimate businesses, the church, and so forth.

We should add to it the more comprehensive efforts of the model established in the Community Action Programs partially funded by the Office Economic Opportunity in the 1960's–70's, and which are in jeopardy under the Nixon Administration even as we write this paper. It still appears that people with *power* at the grassroots level have the most auspicious opportunity to do something significant in "turning the cities around" so that they do not continue to slide further into decay.

Street crime, which seems to be the only type of criminal activity which actually frightens society is mainly a phenomenon of the urban environment. Urban areas are increasingly populated by a Black majority; thus both the criminal and his victim therefore are likely to be Black (as police statistics appear to indicate earlier in our discussion). In urban areas, due perhaps to community pressure for equal employment opportunity and possibly to the movement of whites to more desirable jobs, an increasing number of Blacks are moving into positions in the justice system wherein they exert influence over the destiny of other Black brothers and sisters who are apprehended committing crimes. Blacks play a significant role in the politics of many major cities where they constitute a sizeable portion of the population. The situation truly is becoming one of de facto segregation, in which Blacks will have to carve out their destinies together, utilizing political coalitions to extract support from those non-Black persons remaining in the cities and from those Black and Whites who have established themselves in suburbia and exurbia. This will be difficult, it seems to us, as in the case of Mayor Carl Stokes, when he attempted to organize a Black political machine near the end of his term in Cleveland and fell short of success. However, Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles has just given heart to Black aspirations for a legitimate power role in coalition politics by his victory in a city with Blacks being 16 to 18 per cent of the population.

Significantly, the Black Panther's Bobby Seale ran a respectable race recently for the mayoralty of Oakland, California and all pundits are saying that even in defeat he must be consulted by the victors in planning for that city's programs.

It does seem then, that Black people must "continue to continue," that they must seek every bit of help and make every effort on their own to solve the problems of the city—one of which is the crime that strikes fear in their hearts. This is mandatory, we believe, because the city is the home of millions of Black people who will either overcome and plan an even greater role in American life in the last quarter of this century, or who will die in the genocidal furnace of the ghetto (in the human "rat sink," if you will).

We are calling for a neo-tribalism—the rebirth of primary social forces in the lives of Blacks everywhere but especially in and around American cities. We speak academically of the one-to-one, face-to-face relationships which characterize tribal cultures, and of mutual communal concern for the welfare of each other. We are calling on those primitive instincts which cause mankind to make the *first* effort for his own survival before calling on government, which should see our cities begin to have massive cleanup-paintup campaigns that become a part of daily life for the good of the entire "tribe." If Aristotle's assessment of man's tendency to organize politically was accurate (and we believe it was), then we urge Blacks to reclaim this vital part of their heritage which was stripped from them by deliberate disenfranchisement (only being resorted partially in recent years but with dramatic political results already in the South), or by clever manipulations of big city political machines.

Then, the power structure of the nation—that combination of political and economic might which can only reside in the majority group, and to which minority groups can only find access by making coalitions—must move to deal with Black forces as the nation moves to establish a community-based treatment program for adjudicated felons on a large scale in the cities. Blacks from all walks of life *must* be involved in the planning and operation of this system if it is to have any degree of real success, primarily because it will be set down among *them* in *their* communities, and it will be *their* brothers and sisters mainly who will be trying to regain a respectable niche in the "tribe."

We are questioning whether the power structure (which has always ordered mandates) has perceived of this necessary conceding of power to Blacks over the criminal justice system as it affects their communities, especially since the control of this machinery has always been in the hands of the elite throughout civilization. We are even more perturbed when we review the roster of prestigious persons who sat on the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and note the number of Blacks.

Query: Why did not the power structure begin to press to have prisons located in the cities twenty-five years ago when the cities still were predominantly white and most institutions were out beyond suburbia?

Further query: Is there a gross game, perhaps, being played by the power structure, under the guise of the genuinely humane concept of community-based treatment (which should have great appeal to Blacks who have suffered so heavily in the prisons of America) as it mounts the current drive to re-locate prisons in small institutions in the cities which are now predominantly Black in populace and in great financial trouble? Is there a relationship in this new movement to the fact that white suburbia has spread around many prisons during the past quarter of a century, and that perhaps the continual unrest inside the walls now gives rise to the urgency of not only "hiding the criminal behind the walls" but of moving the walls *themselves* back to the city which the majority of whites have abandoned? Just a thought—but a sincere one.

Obviously, much is unknown about the dynamics about which we have speculated in the foregoing material, but there are certain givens. We know there is great social and technological change taking place, and that government reorganization and institutional change within the justice system are adding other stresses. We know that racial factors continue to be important in many of the considerations involved, and that the political process will be the mechanism by which many of the decisions will be made. We would add another given: much research is needed to gather data as a basis for making intelligent decisions. It is about research needs that we would like to write in the final pages of this paper, especially as they might appeal to Howard University's Institute for Urban Affairs.

Research Possibilities

1. The composition of the community in the District of Columbia, especially as it relates to Blacks.

Is there a "Black" community really or is it a loosely-connected class system linked only by color rather than other deeply-vested interests (like money and property)? Do Blacks from various economic levels perceive of themselves as being part of a "community" which includes their racial brothers who live in a different socio-economic class stratum? Are there any possibilities for developing a neo-tribalism (primary communal concern for each other) among Blacks from all walks of life in the District (if it is determined that such does not exist presently)? How does the white community relate to the Black community, and to what extent are power coalitions involved which are mutually beneficial? Are there white-Black power linkages which benefit those involved but which negatively affect Blacks who are not a part of the coalition? Who really controls the District of Columbia—politically, economically, socially?

2. The utilization of Black history in the District of Columbia as a unifying, motivating factor in developing new urban programs.

Blacks have a deep involvement in the history of the nation's capital, as reported by historians such as Dr. Letitia Brown. What *do* Blacks know and *feel* about this history? Can educational courses be devised so these Black historical figures become part of a panoply of *life* so to speak, which can be used to inspire young Blacks to walk tall and seize their rightful place in today's city affairs? We mean more than merely identifying these men and women on cold pages and are thinking of how we can inculcate a sense of tradition, that special awareness of an unending thread of relationship between past, present, and future which helps so much to give a sense of identity to the individual. (Some efforts are being made along these lines by using comic books in the Adams-Morgan community program to teach Black children about Blacks who should be known to them.)

3. Crime is one of the most potent forms of social deviation, especially where it involves traditional offenses against person and property.

What do Blacks in various neighborhoods believe and feel about the incidence of crime as it pertains to "Black on Black crime"? Is racial brotherhood stronger than the human instinct to defend oneself against a predator and to organize the group for mutual safety? Are Blacks willing to let bitterness caused by 400 years of oppression in America overshadow the realities of violent crime perpetrated by Blacks against other Blacks? Can class divisions (if they exist) be overcome to produce a concerted effort of Blacks working as a community to develop a system of community treatment for convicted felons, which is woven into the warp and woof of Black life? Is there really a "Black life style" which embraces all Blacks in a common sense of "soul," or has America now come to be a variety of life styles geared to certain socio-economic factors, with a social process which may find Blacks living in any one of the life styles? Is the phenomenon of urban crime a centrifugal force which drives Blacks away from each other due to fear, or is crime and its relation to the administration of justice a centripetal force which draws Blacks together in common bitterness toward the power structure?

4. There must be a workable, effective treatment modality to make large scale community treatment an acceptable alternative to incarceration.

What is the socio-psychological context of community-based treatment modalities, in terms of the individual and his environment and the dynamics of these factors? Who can be considered an acceptable re-socializing agent in the community as part of the social configuration against which rehabilitation must be developed? Can we continue to try to re-socialize in neighborhoods so destructive that merely living in them can defeat rehabilitation efforts? If we are forced by the power structure to confine community treatment to those neighborhoods which are "hustling" communities, or in transition to becoming such places, can we develop an effective treatment environment to overcome the pressures on the individual? Can we devise better tests and measurements—instruments which will more accurately indicate the potential of those persons who have been deprived of an acceptable education and who are culturally retarded? Can we develop "community psychiatry," utilizing the natural resources of the environment, recognizing that the community may see other priorities as being necessary to individual survival? (It may be that there are lessons on which to build in the experience of Dr. Israel Zwerling in New York City.)

5. Peter Drucker speaks of reprivatization of government services, alluding to the role Blacks have aspired to in recent years regarding community control of public schools funded by taxation. He also names universities as one of the sectors which could assume a more positive role in taking over the operation of certain services now administered by government agencies.

What role is the Black university (specifically Howard University) playing in the community life of the District of Columbia? Does the community have meaningful access to the resources of the university—and vice versa? What research effort is being exerted now by the university and what is its focus i.e., does it deal with *studying* the *community* through a microscope or does it engage at all in investigating the *university* itself in *its* work to strengthen or serve the community? Can the university develop more diagnostic and treatment services, health programs, manpower development, and so forth, as part of the human services system? Can the university re-vitalize its traditional "think tank" role and become a primary developer of planning for the integration of human services, since it has centuries of experience in training people in the "integration of the liberal arts," for example? What is the potential role of the university in developing special curricula for training the *managers* of the newly-integrated services? Does the university have any "class" shackles which must be discarded before it can truly extend itself into community service and assume a potent leadership role? Does the administration truly perceive of a community service *role* for the university (as has been stated publicly), or does it see its role as offering educational programs to the community which would only be an extension of the traditional classroom? How do contemporary students envision their university's role in the community?

6. We believe that men will continue to try to solve their major social problems via the traditional political process, even though they may resort to violent methods at times to express their frustrations with the established order of things. (Witness the apparent changes in direction of the Black Panther Party from desperate efforts to attack the system from without trying to "do their thing" within the system.)

What are the perceptions of Black people regarding the utility of the political process in the District of Columbia? What is the political process in the District, in spite of what we have been told by the media? What are the mandates for coalition politics (which would mean coalition government) in the District (i.e., what are the power constraints on Black politicians which make it necessary to avoid a monolithic political organization, even though Black politicians must always be foremost about the business of looking after the interests of Black people? Are there any interests of Black people which coincide with the interests of the white community which therefore make it legitimately necessary for Blacks to embrace a wider range of community causes (e.g., pollution, crime, transportation, etc.)? What is the role of the university in the political life of the community? Does it even have such a role, or must it remain aloof in nonpartisan majesty from the forces which will swirl up "The Hill" and rage across the campus?

Well—so much for all of this. We have tried to express it as we see it, and we thank you for your attention.

We believe strongly that there is large area of concern to which the Institute for Urban Affairs can devote research resources, in addition to combining services to the community. We wish it well in its future endeavors.

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Part IV Issues and Assessment in Human Resource Development

HEALTH CARE AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY: RESEARCH PROSPECTS

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The fact that there is a crisis in America's health care system is being recognized by an increasingly large number of concerned persons in the United States. This is not a new crisis, but as usual, the United States, the only industrialized nation in the world without a national health service toward solving cannot seem to marshal its tremendous technological forces/one of its many social problems. As a matter of fact, it has been only recently, that large sectors of the American public have begun to think in terms of good health care as a basic human right. Heretofore, Americans have tended to see the acquisition of health care as an individual responsibility and a problem only for the very poor. This has been reflected in national policy. The Federal government has seen its responsibility solely laying where there was clear and present danger to the public, and more specifically, in the control of communicable diseases and care for members of the armed forces.

The spiralling cost of medical care, its increased fragmentation due in large part to the increase specializing of doctors and the maldistribution of health services making health care geographically and financially inaccessible to many Americans are among the problems creating the current crisis.

For Black Americans, the problem of access to good health care has always been at the crisis stage. Economically discriminated against, Blacks have generally not been able to afford the best care available, and educationally discriminated against, Blacks have been unable to train enough health care providers to meet their needs. In 1969, out of a total of 334,028 practicing physicians in this country, only 4,805 were Black. This creates an additional problem because of the state of social relations in this country. Too often Blacks and other poor people have been unable to fully utilize existing health systems available to them because they have not fully understood the complicated mechanism for using facilities supported by public funds.

They have not been sophisticated enough to recognize the various entry points and to use them effectively once they have been located. In particular, they have not availed themselves of the various specialty clinics that engage in preventative health care which hopefully would cut down on the use of emergency hospital services. One point is clear, the present organization of health care in this country is clearly designed for the select few that can pay for it and for those sophisticated enough to use it. This leaves out the great majority of Black people.

Despite the controversy over the use of life expectancy as a health status index, it is one of the clearest measures we have in comparison to other groups when both groups theoretically have the same opportunities for health care. When mortality and morbidity rates are both examined, we can clearly see that in comparison with the white population, non-whites do not fare as well.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reports that in 1967 the neonatal mortality rates per 1,000 births for whites was five, for non-whites it was 11. Postnatal deaths per 1,000 births for whites was 15 while for non-whites it was an astounding 24. Using the mortality index as an indication of the health status of a population, it is clear that non-whites get burned at both ends of the candle. They don't survive infancy nearly as well as whites, and those that survive infancy don't live as long as whites.

Morbidity data shows the same trend—while whites may expect to be disabled 7% of their entire life span, non-whites may expect to be disabled 9% of their life span. This may be a more important measure for Blacks than life expectancy, because a longer disfunctional life means an increased drain on the already meager financial resources available to the population. The white population is clearly more likely to see a physician than the non-white population; non-whites are least likely to have any regular source of care at all. By all indices used, gross as they may be, non-whites are far worse off than whites.

Thus far, we have been looking at the dismal side of the health care picture; perhaps I ought to say, that just as the picture has gotten progressively better for whites, it has grown progressively better for Blacks. The gaps remain, but the life expectancy rate has gone up over the last century and the pre-natal and post-natal mortality rates for both groups have gone down. So there are hopeful signs on the horizon.

Since the long term objectives of this paper are to suggest research prospects for the future, presented are areas of health care delivery that I feel are urgently in need of research if we are to continue to accelerate the current upward trends in providing better health care to Blacks.

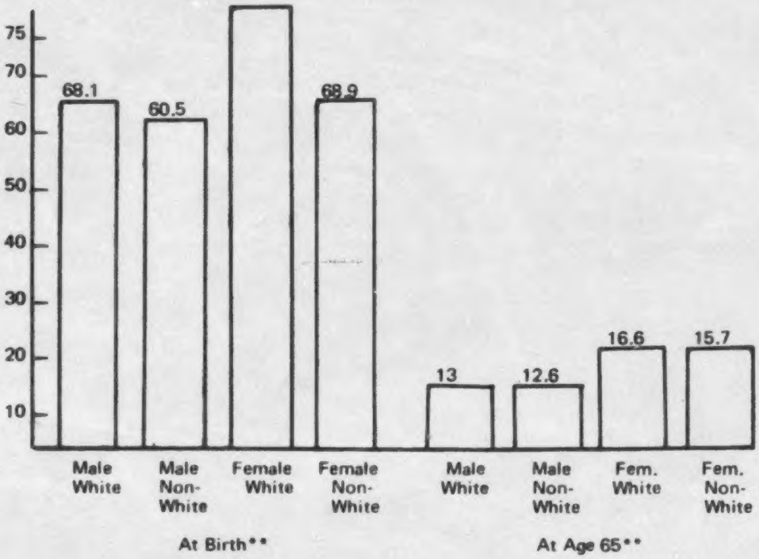
The overview of the health status of Black Americans is sufficient to alert us to the need for the establishment of national goals for the deliverance of health care which in turn should lead to national policy. A small, poor country in the West Indies' (Stien, 1973) recently defined six goals for its national health services program:

1. To provide universal and comprehensive health care.
2. To train health manpower of a number and quality sufficient to staff good comprehensive health services.
3. To make the improvement and maintenance of health a shared social endeavor that coordinates the efforts of all health workers and of the people they serve.
4. To keep the health services watchful of human needs.
5. To improve and maintain the health of the whole people as well as to meet the health needs of individual patients.
6. To maintain constant evaluation of health programs.

If the United States can set goals for its space programs, for its defense plans and take the necessary steps to meet these goals, then it seems reasonable to expect that this could be done to maintain the health of its people.

We now find ourselves in the midst of a crisis, mainly because consumers,

Chart I Average Remaining Years of Life at Birth and at Age 65, by Sex and Color, 1970



**Rounded to nearest whole number

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972 (Washington, D.C., 1972), Table 74, p. 55.

The U. S. Bureau of Census reports that at birth, the average white person can expect to live 71.7 years, while the average remaining years of life at birth for a non-white person is 64.6, a difference in life expectancy of 7.1 years.

perhaps spurred on by the interest of government in social issues during the 1960's are demanding better health care. Health providers have been caught with no clearly defined goals that they can recommend as the basis of national policy.

The Physicians, because of their training, have concentrated primarily on the individual patient while the Federal government has concentrated on the control and prevention of communicable diseases. Except for the collection of vital statistics, morbidity and mortality rates, and very inadequate statistics on causes of death, epidemiology is inadequate.

We cannot begin to define national goals if the distribution, characteristics, and manifestation of health and disease in populations are unknown. The Black population needs less comparative statistics showing that they as a group are less healthy than whites, but more data on types of diseases affecting Black people. We need to know the numbers of people affected, the etiological factors responsible for disease and what is known about cures and prevention.

More importantly, locally interpretable epidemiological studies should be given high priority on any health research agenda, particularly one relating to Black health care. Blacks live throughout the land, in urban areas as well as rural areas, each geographical location having its own set of social circumstances and its own set of health problems. While there may be every reason to identify national problems, to focus our attention on these local ones is just as important.

A nationwide conference (Cornely, 1968) on the health status of Black Americans held at Howard University identified several major health problems:

1. The widening gap between Black and white mortality and morbidity rates.
2. Mental retardation.
3. Trauma—the unskilled and semi-skilled workers have the most serious health problems; the risk of injury and consequent potential loss of health is high. The great majority of Blacks fall into these occupational groups.

We are also aware of the high prevalence of violence perpetuated by Blacks against Blacks and the heavy toll this takes on young Blacks as reflected in both mortality and morbidity rates. We need to investigate causes and preventative methods. Infant mortality and malnutrition might also be included in a listing of major health problems for Blacks. Once we have categorized, listed, counted and located (geographically) the health problems, we need to establish priorities. We know that high blood pressure, or hypertension, is one of the leading killers and disablers among Blacks, yet recently we have seen a tremendous upsurge of interest in Sickle Cell disease. By comparison with other killers and disabling diseases in terms of numbers affected, some would argue that Sickle Cell disease should be much lower on the priority list.

As researchers interested in the health needs of the Black community, we need to be able to identify both biological and social attributes of high risk groups. Particular attention needs to be given to linking socio-economic conditions with biological outcomes. Hines (1972) notes that the health and health care practices of Blacks in America have been most related to the social status and the pattern of social relations Blacks have had in society as a whole. Changes in Black health status can be related more directly to improved social conditions rather than to advances in scientific knowledge. Cornely (1968) had earlier suggested that the health of the Black American was both an expression of and the result of the social and economic burdens imposed upon him. Health is inseparably connected with poor housing, unemployment, and inadequate education.

We need to be able to identify the positive aspects of health care within the Black community. Despite the woefully inadequate health services rendered to the Black community, we have survived surprisingly well, relying in many cases on self treatment or as some would label it "folk medicine." There may be within the Black community a rich source of health care knowledge that could be incorporated into a more formal health care delivery system. Somehow, we need to be able to have data available in a form that will be useful in establishing group health goals which may in turn affect national policy, and not data that can be used as another tool of oppression.

Of equal importance is the need for research combined with action. Since so much scientific knowledge is already available about treatment of many physical disorders, much could be gained by combining what is already known with attempts to treat. An example of such research might be the Holmes County Mississippi Health Research Project (Kueter 1973). This project, being conducted by the Milton Olive II Memorial Corporation, has since 1969, been engaging local community representatives and professional consultants in learning how and what to investigate. Thus far, they have determined that hypertension is the number one chronic disease in the community and have begun an all-out attack on hypertension in the form of a community control program. This is one example of an attempt to apply what is known about control of a disease to an identified population, while research continues to seek etiological factors responsible for the disease as well as cures and preventive methods.

In addition to the need for epidemiological research, there is a need for the evaluation of proposed ways of organizing the delivery of health care. The current system of health care delivery has been characterized by some as a "non-system" (Madison 1971). The dominant model in existence today is the professional or traditional model where care is provided by a variety of provider units, dominated by the physician (Ellwood, 1972). Most consumers enter this system by way of self referral based on self-diagnostic impressions. This means that those who can afford their services (about 75% of the population) will usually engage more often in preventive health measures. The remaining 25% of Americans who do not use independent practioners do not do so because it is geographically or financially inaccessible to them (Madison 1971). They use a variety of hospital and health department clinics, emergency rooms and special purpose projects which exist primarily for the poor. This 25% deprived of medical care engages more in crisis oriented medicine, thus, they usually seek medical care later and less often than the more affluent. Therefore, we would expect a greater amount of acute disorders among this group.

Although there is no clear evidence to link health status to health care, most providers and consumers seem to feel that those who use health care facilities are better off than those who do not, there is, due to interference from the available measures of health status, figures of access, and utilization rates. It is clear that this professional or traditional model is far from satisfactory. We have by no means been able to make effective use of the advanced scientific knowledge that we possess to service large segments of the population, thus we have a crisis in organization for the delivery of health care in the United States[7] (Strickland 1972).

In 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity initiated community-based comprehensive health care institutions and independent community corporations to develop comprehensive neighborhood health centers in low-income communities. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has since joined in supporting these health centers. To date, only a small number, 70 in 1971, of these centers are in operation and Wolfe (1972) estimates that they serve only 1.5 million of the 40 to 50 million poor people in the nation. While some care is much better than none at all, these centers have at least two built-in problems: First, they are designed to deliver care to the least affluent part of the population. The income guidelines are so low that only persons who are the poorest can use them, consequently, the ability of these centers to demonstrate effectiveness in terms of having an overall effect on the health status of the community is seriously impaired; that is, people who are likely to be the sickest are not likely to show any quick, short-term gains, which government sponsored programs are likely to demand, thus serious evaluation of their effectiveness is hampered.

The second problem with these centers is that they have as one of their major goals the delivery of preventative medical services. Because it appears that they promise too little too late, the centers find themselves overwhelmed by accute conditions, and wind up engaging in crisis medicine, so in many cases, they represent the same old clinics moved to a new location.

For the health care researchers, these programs offer an excellent opportunity to engage in meaningful research. There is desparate need for determining ways of delivering effective, quality medical care. These new programs need evaluating in a manner that would support national policy for reorganizing the medical care delivery system. One model might be the one we are currently using to evaluate the effectiveness of new centers established by Meharry Medical College. Funded by the National Center for Health Services Research and Development, the Center for Health Care Research at Meharry Medical College is measuring along multiple parameters the effects of alternative delivery systems on three geographically defined populations. Since the Fall of 1968, five new service programs have opened, all with either a community focus or a community base. Matthew Walker Neighborhood Health Center is located in the community it is supposed to serve, and has an extensive outreach program. The community Mental Health Center, although geographically closer to Meharry Medical College, also has an extensive outreach program. The Comprehensive Children and Youth Program, the Comprehensive Adult Health Service and the Multitest Screening Laboratory are all located at Meharry and have limited outreach programs. It is expected that these new programs will significantly affect the health status of the populations they serve in a positive way, and will demonstrate that they can do a better job of delivering health care than the traditional model.

Specifically, the Center for Health Care Research includes in its outcome indicators a study of unmet needs for health care and services; a blood pressure outcome study; and a consumer evaluation study focusing on care received for previously pregnant mothers and their babies. We are also monitoring vital statistical data, including all births, deaths and related sources of care. We expect these massive based studies to show that these new programs offer new potential for changes in the effectiveness and efficiency of delivery of health care in an urban setting.

The central planning model is another of the reorganizational plans being discussed. While the proposed central planning models keep the physicians as the central agent and provider, they are based on the fundamental notion of public control over the planning and allocating of health services. This basic approach is built into the Ameri-plan proposal, proposed by the American Hospital Association, Comprehensive Planning agencies and regional medical programs. Blacks need to be at work looking at the implication of political control over the planning and allocation of health resources. They need to be looking for guarantees that they will get their fair share of the resources. These proposed plans have tremendous implications politically for the estabishment of national policy, and Blacks should be engaged in the study of these plans so that they can lobby effectively for a plan that will guarantee equal benefits for Blacks.

The third model for delivering health services might be called the competitive health maintenance model, where health care is offered by a variety of providers, and the consumer prepays for services. They usually provide comprehensive care including preventive services, ambulatory and in-patient physician services, hospital services, laboratory and X-ray services. The most well known is the Kaiser plan in California.

The implications of this model for Blacks need to be very carefully studied. Current data suggests that this model reduces the cost of medical care because the cost is shared by a group and works much as traditional life and accident insurance. The H.M.O. must absorb the cost of underestimating the expense of the care. Two main probelms are suggested immediately with the HMO's: While pre-payment for a specific set of services provides a powerful inducement to render cost-effective health care, it may create an incentive to reduce services and quality. Blacks, who have not been able to afford the fee for services in the traditional model could well wind up using inferior sources of care simply because they couldn't afford a better organization. The second problem could well be that these organizations could engage in limiting enrollments to persons judged to be favorable health risks. Obviously Blacks, as a group, using the earlier quoted mortality and morbidity rates would be judged high risk. If HMO organizations begin to proliferate, Blacks will need adequate information on how they will in fact operate, and they must be in a position to affect national policy regarding regulation of these organizations.

Probably the greatest precipitator of the crisis in health care has been the escalation of cost. This escalation of cost has come at a time when out of 23 million Blacks, 7.4 million or 32% of them are below the poverty or low-income level. Median income is only $6,516 compared to the white median income of $10,236. For the aged and very poor Medicaid and Medicare have been established. In spite of the inadequate ways these programs are being used, many argue that they have been partly responsible for the rise in cost of medical care, thus helping to increase the already over-burdened sector of the population not covered by these programs.

Even if consumers and providers could agree on an organizational plan that could effectively deliver adequate and satisfactory health care to all segments of the population, how this would be paid for remains a problem. Although large additional monies have been spent from public funds, we have not seen a lessening of the crisis. At the present time several proposals are before Congress. The Kennedy-Griffin bill being proposed would put $5 billion into pre-paid group medical practices that provide comprehensive health services for a single fee. In the urban areas they would be known as Health Maintenance Organizations and would provide a full range of services. In rural areas they would be called Health Service Organizations because of a comparative lack of equipment; $4.65 billion in federal grants and $535.2 million in loans in the next three years would be authorized for planning, construction and subsidies.

There is also the Nixon plan which relies on a combination of public and private fundings. No plan seems to be moving through Congress with any speed, largely because we are not yet committed to the notion of quality health care for all people.

Whatever the plan, as Black researchers we need to be in a position to understand the proposals being made and how they will affect Black people, we need to be providing our legislators with plans of action that should be reflected in national policy.

In conclusion, while I have discussed several important facets of the delivery of health care to the Black community the need for more epidemiological research, the need for evaluation research in determining the best plan for the reorganization of the Health Care delivery system so that it meets the needs of society and the need for careful study of ways of financing health care delivery there are more areas that I have not touched upon, such as the inadequate number of physicians being trained, the use and effectiveness of paraprofessionals in the delivery of primary care and more importantly, I have not mentioned the need for more research on the attitudes of Black Health Care consumers. Certainly, we need to know what the attitudinal barriers to good health care are, and we need to know how the consumer views his needs. If we are to be in a position to define Black health goals and to promote the establishment of national policy we will need continuous and focused research on the above listed problem area.

We must however, concentrate on action research, research that allows delivery of health care to proceed on the basis of intelligent predictions of the likely outcome of reform programs rather than waiting for national policy to establish programs to be evaluated after the fact. We need to monitor and evaluate on a continuous basis, the ongoing research on the health status of Blacks so that we can establish and maintain a national institute dealing with the current status (health status) of Blacks. This kind of institute could coordinate existing research programs, support the dissemination of available data and serve as a body that could influence the development and establishment of national policy that would reflect the health interest and needs of Black people.

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THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION FROM A BLACK PERSPECTIVE

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Human experimentation and the ethics of human experimentation are topics of increasing discussion and debate in the media, within the academic community, and in various branches of the Federal Government. My own concern and interest in the subject have come about as a result of published accounts of some of the more familiar tragedies that have occurred in the area of medical experimentation. Coupled with an intellectual, as well as a very human concern about the possibilities of genocide being carried out on American Blacks, I felt compelled to explore the ramifications of human experimentation: its benefits; its dangers; and the possible political meanings for Black people.

The topic is a very broad one. It crosses all academic disciplines from the biological and physical sciences to the social and behavioral sciences. It is my hope, within the limited context of this presentation, to suggest some of the research possibilities open to and in need of investigation by concerned Black scholars.

I wish to extend thanks to Dr. Joseph Cooper, my colleague in the Department of Political Science at Howard University for his comments and criticisms, and for the invitation to participate in a conference on *The Philosophy and Technology of Drug Assessment*, at which many of the issues surrounding the question of human experimentation were discussed. I would like to thank Dr. Lawrence E. Gary, Director of the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, and workshop Chairman, for suggesting that I write a paper on the topic.

Human experimentation is a broad and confusing topic. To broach the subject is to invite varying conceptions of what it is that is being discussed. Images conjured may range from that of a "mad scientist" leering over a nude, helpless body to a professor seeking to elicit a response from "turned-off" students through the use of some new teaching technique. Indeed, it is possible, though probably not realistic, to argue that all actions relating to human beings are experimental. It is important for this discussion, therefore, that we seek to establish boundaries as to what is meant by the term ***human experimentation***.

In addition to drawing definitional boundaries around the general term, human experimentation, we must also place operational limits on where we wish to go with the term once we've defined it. From a broad concern of what people do "to" and "with" people, I have become more specifically interested in two areas: medical/biological experimentation, and political experimentation. However, in the course of this presentation, I shall suggest some of the areas where human experimentation takes place and then take a closer look at biomedical research. I shall then suggest research possibilities for concerned Black scholars.

We might, for our discussion, wish to consider two related definitions of human experimentation; the first, is a more general dictionary definition, and the latter is related more to the field of medicine.

> "A test made to demonstrate a known truth, to examine the validity of a hypothesis, or to determine the efficacy of something previously untried . . . [1]
>
> "The deliberate inducing or altering body or mental functions directly or indirectly, in individuals or in groups primarily for the advancement of health, science and human welfare."[2]

It becomes apparent from the first definition, that experimentation is not limited to the physicial and biological sciences, but is carried on by the social and behavioral sciences as well. It may further be deduced that political systems also may engage in human experimentation. The second definition, although speaking specifically of medicine, also suggests that experimentation has wide-ranging possibilities and implications. Experimentation is not restricted to acts upon individuals, but may also include groups and systems of people as well. It is at this level, that of actions upon a group or system, that I shall concentrate on in this paper. It was suggested by Dr. Mary Harper, that the notion of exploitation should have a prominent place in a definition of experimentation as so much of the experimentation being done is not for the benefit of the person experimented upon.

As alluded to in my preface, I shall try to look at human experimentation from a Black perspective, although in many respects such an approach is impractical and full of hazards. For those of us who are concerned with the possibilities of genocide being carried out on the Black population in the United States, however, such an approach takes on more meaning. This concern, both intellectual and real, by no means suggesting that intellectual concerns are unreal, forces the serious individual to look with a critical eye at those things in the world around him that may endanger his existence on this earth.

As with most topics, experimentation on humans has both a positive and a negative side. Advances in the arts and the sciences have come about as a result of experimentation. One has only to look at the "wonder drugs" of the twentieth century, new surgical procedures that have lowered mortality rates, or social experiments such as special school projects, to see that experimentation is a valuable tool in the improvement of the condition of mankind. It is not, it must be made clear, the positive features of experimentation that cause me alarm, rather, it is the abuses and questionable ethics of *some* experimentation that suggest this article be written.

Concern over human experimentation has been somewhat persistent over the past twenty years or so. With the prosecution of Nazi doctors for medical atrocities committed during the course of experimentation, the Nuremburg Trials brought to public light the dangers of unchecked experimentation. The Nuremburg Code of Ethics came about as a result of these trials.[3] Sociologist Bernard Barber, in discussing medical experimentation suggests that, ". . .as with probably all purposive social action, there have also been some unintended and undesired side-effects, in both the medical and the moral realms. Chief among the undesired moral side-effects has been the apparent failure to achieve the highest, and in many cases even adequate standards of professional moral concern and behavior with the human subjects. . ."[4] Further concern has been expressed by the Academic Research Community over the techniques, purposes and ethics of many types of experimentation.[5] Increasing attention by the

Federal Government with attendant issuance of new rules and regulations has also come about in the past two decades.[6] Another source that has shown attention and concern over the ability of the scientific community to regulate itself has been the news media. The media brought to public attention the infamous "Tuskeegee Study," where unknowing rural Black men were injected with syphilis and never treated.[7] The thalidomide disaster in Germany and the heart transplant programs of Drs. DeBakey and Cooley of Baylon University have also received intense media scrutiny. NBC News has used the television airways to explore the issue of human experimentation in prisons. Concurrently, Black interest in and concern with the purposes and ethics of human experimentation have also increased. It has been brought to my attention that this concern has been most apparent in the "Sickle Cell Controversy" and in questions about what appears to be an inordinate amount of social and behvaioral science research being conducted in Black communities across the nation. Widespread concern with what indigent ward patients in large "inner city" hospitals must submit to in order to receive basic medical care is also noted.

Bernard Barber, in speaking to the increasing criticism about the shortcomings of human experimentation, suggests that these criticisms have some important defects. He says, "It (the literature) contains a paucity of hard and detailed facts based on representative samples of experience. Also, it lacks the understanding of some of the sources of possible ethical shortcomings in this area which can be provided by sociological analysis. Finally, because of its inadequate factual basis and its unsatisfactory analysis, the policy recommendations made in this literature have often been limited or defective.[8] It is the duty of scholars, especially Black scholars who, perhaps represent the hope and future of Black Americans, to find the truth through their powers of observation and inquiry. Upon our shoulders, whether we're political scientists or physicians, religious scholars or physicists, rests the burden of gathering the facts, helping to make the indictments, and where guidelines need to be established, assisting in the development of public policy.

Areas of Human Experimentation

As previously stated, human experimentation covers a range of academic disciplines. For purposes of this discussion, we shall identify four major academic categories where human experimentation and the attendant ethical concerns are relevant and hopefully, of interest to the reader:

This first area of which much attention has been paid in recent years, is the biomedical sciences. Under this heading, we would include examples of research involving surgery, biologically based behavior modification techniques, drug studies of efficacy and safety. One procedure in this area that is currently under intense debate is psychosurgery. This surgical behavior modification procedure raises a host of questions that are not only medical in origin, but also arise out of ethical, social, and political concerns. Physicians question the reliability of the procedure; philosophers question whether it is ethical to radically change the nature of man; political scientists are concerned that such procedures will be used for political ends, and, sociologists wonder whether the nature of society as we know it will be changed radically. Noted Black psychologist, Kenneth Clark, has been reported as advocating the use of drugs for similar purposes. The criticism has been thunderous, but research into the implications of such procedures has been scant.

The religious/philosophical area is also vitally concerned with human experimentation. Questions of ethics and morals receive primary attention here and seek to serve as a balance to the rise of technology in our world. What is the relationship of the individual to the community and when we should sacrifice an individual for the good of society are ethical as well as well as political questions. The third area that I delineate for consideration is that of the law. Legal considerations must be made where conducting experimentation on human subjects. Questions of consent, liability and malpractice fall under the purview of the law as well as many of the ethical questions raised. It is through the law that many of these issues will be resolved.

The last category, broadly, and perhaps inaccurately, termed the social area, is composed of such disciplines as: sociology, political science, psychology; education; economics; and social work. Here, while the experimentation is different from that of medical experimentation, it is, no less, experimentation of human subjects. Anthropologist Margaret Mead, in speaking of social research and some of the deceptions practiced, says, "It is scientifically and ethically impermissible to deceive the subjects of research by disguising oneself as a 'participant observer,' or by introducing stooges into an experiment, or by making use of long-distance TV or hidden microphones, ... When a human being is introduced who is consciously distorting his position, the material of the research is inevitably jeopardized, and the results are put in question as the 'participant' introduced as a 'psychotic in a mental ward' or the like gives his subject false clues of a non-verbal nature and produces distortions which cannot be traced in his results. Deception violates the conventions of privacy and human dignity and casts scientists in the role of spies, intelligence agents, Peeping Toms, and versions of Big Brother. Furthermore, it damages science by cutting short attempts to construct methods of research that would responsibly enhance, rather than destroy, human trust."[9]

Human experimentation then is found in nearly all disciplines. Its use and abuse must be the concern of all Black scholars. The possibilities for research into the subject are vast. I hope only to point out some of the possibilities that I view to be of some urgency. The list is not exhaustive by any means.

Possible Avenues of Research on Human Experimentation

Human experimentation is often classified as "for the good of society," but we have often seen such phrases used to cover up outrageous acts; witness some of the reasons given for the Watergate scandal. If we look back at our original definitions, we find no such statement as "for the good of society." What we are suggesting is that experimentation should have specific and limited purposes with a range of scientific, ethical, legal, and moral restrictions so that the individual and society are protected. Otherwise, it may be used as a tool of oppression.

One of the first research possibilities for Black scholars is to reexplore the boundaries of experimentation. The philosophical problems in human experimentation are immense. There is ample room for our religious scholars, philosophers and theorists of other disciplines to seek answers. The ethical considerations between the investigator and his subject form the basis for much of our dilemma. An Hans Jonas states, "Human experimentation for whatever purpose is always a responsible, non-experimental, definitive dealing with the subject himself, and not even the noblest purpose abrogates the obligations this involves."[10] Questions involving when we should allow human experimentation and on whom are also matters of ethics. Political philosophers might want to go back to the theory of the "social contract," which has been used as a vehicle for expecting people to give to science, to examine not only the validity of the "social contract" thesis but to find a justification in it for human experimentation as well. It may well be that we must look to some higher form of wisdom for reasons to expect man to give to his fellow man, society, and to science. Attached to this line of reasoning is the question of informed, voluntary consent. Where is consent and when is it a form of conscription? Another question with ethical implications that should be explored is that of whom should be subjects and under what conditions. Jonas has suggested that those who should be subjects should come, as a first priority grouping, from the highest strata of society, the educated and scientific elites. A descending order of persons who could be subjects would be an inverse of the normal market ordering and would place the poor and the Black as being the last to be experimented upon.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, progress, through technology, has become a part of the American ethos. Progress, as measured through profits and material well-being, has created a crisis of values that may lead the United States to destruction. It has been taken for granted, by many that there is a common set of values for the American people, but many Blacks, however, feel that we as a people have a unique or different set of values that distinguish us from the larger population. It should be of interest and importance to find out what the ethical values of Black people are and, if these values are different, how we can protect the integrity of these differing values from abuse by the larger society.

These ethical concerns transcend all areas of human experimentation whether it be medical research or attitudinal studies by sociologists seeking to develop new ways of getting people to live and work together. This is to suggest that such concerns are and should be within the province of all disciplines even though certain disciplines have ethical behavior as a major preoccupation.

Medicine and the biological sciences have traditionally been areas where human experimentation has been often done and is considered a necessary part of the discipline. Experimentation on the human body can be traced back to ancient Persia where criminals were used as subjects. Galen, called the founder of modern experimental physiology, conducted experiments with humans over 1800 years ago. Even with such a long historical background, medical experimentation as we know it, has come into existence within the past one hundred years or so. Most of our major drug discoveries, new surgical procedures, and methods of treatment and patient care, are relatively new. Medicine has had its own technological revolution, and with it, its share of mistakes, abuses, and ethical shortcomings. Because of the almost sacred trust we have in physicians, they have not as a group been subject to much outside scrutiny. We have always had faith in the ability of the scientific community to regulate itself. (Note the immense power of the AMA.) This, however, is radically changing with the discovery of such disasters as the "Tuskeegee Study," the "thalidomide disaster," the abuse of prisoners as subjects, and the conflict of interest on the part of many physicians in their relations with drug companies and hospitals. It has become imperative that social science begin to examine systematically the nature and structure of health care and medical research in America.

The recent wave of attention being given to Sickle Cell Anemia by the Medical Community and the Federal Government may or may not be a blessing in disguise. Whereas all Blacks are concerned with eradicating this disease, careful attention must be paid to the experimental studies being conducted for evidence of possibly damaging effects of such research. Such concern is being expressed by some Blacks within the Medical Community here in Washington who quite correctly ask the question: "Why all this attention to a Black folk's disease when so little has been done in the past? Are Blacks to be eliminated through sterilization, genetic engineering and the like?"

Psychosurgery and electrical stimulation of the brain are two topics that have generated a great deal of controversy in recent years. If you'll recall, it was electrical shock treatments that were used to characterize Senator Thomas Eagleton as being perhaps "unbalanced" and subsequently dropped from the Democratic presidential ticket. These behavior modification techniques have also come under fire recently for their use on children and prisoners. Questions have also arisen concerning the side effects of such procedures and the irrevocable nature of psychosurgery.

The Hastings Center Report of May, 1973, entitled: ***Physical Manipulation of the Brain,*** outlines much of the debate on the subject. James R. Gavin, III, in this report, expresses concern over psychosurgical experimentation. He states:

> "On the one hand, we have an available and increasingly more sophisticated technology and this is paralleled by a rising alarm over everyday lives . . . Now you combine this with recent conditioning of the public by the promises in popular magazines of this new molecular and brain biology, and you have a very frightening thing; namely, a kind of openness of turning people into vegetables. Numbers of criminals are increasing every day. Prisons are running out of space . . . "

The implications for Black people and others considered socially deviant are enormous. Because we have the techniques for controlling abnormal behavior by destroying brain cells or by sending electrical currents through the brain in no way suggest that we fully understand the structure and functioning of the brain. What it does suggest is that we are using these highly experimental procedures as treatment for deviant behavior without benefit of controlled scientific studies of their effectiveness and safety. The Hastings Center Report also raises several importance questions that suggest research possibilities in this area: To quote:

> "What are the realistic social implications? Should legislation be passed controlling the field? Is individual freedom threatened? Does the relief the treatment can offer override the potential social hazards? What ethical issues are posed by direct intervention in the brain?"

As a social group that may directly benefit or be directly threatened, we must begin to seek answers to these important questions.

The term "captive subjects" is used to denote those persons who may not be capable of giving completely voluntary informed consent because of some condition with which they are burdened. Examples would be prisoners; the mentally retarded; the terminally ill, and others unable to freely give consent. For discussion, I would like to briefly speak about prisoners. Research involving prisoners has been going on since the turn of the century in the United States. Experimentation has run the gamut from finding cures for the plaque and pellagra to psychosurgery and participant observation studies by social scientists. Alarm over the use of prisoners as experimental subjects has within the past year forced several states to close down or to increase control over their prison research units. Most of the prison research is conducted by outside research organizations such as drug companies, educational institutions and research arms of the Federal Government. The case of Dr. Austin Stowe, M.D. was reported by the Montgomery, Alabama *Advertiser* in 1969 and points up some of the problems and abuses of prison research for experimental purposes. Dr. Stowe, who was the Director of the Prisoner Testing Program, did research for a profit; that is, he subcontracted work from private firms. His operation was also criticized for lack of any scientific method and for the shroud of mystery around what he was doing, the value of the research and for a lack of knowledge as to the danger involved in his experiments.

What becomes readily apparent when one begins to investigate experimentation in prisons is that we as scholars and as a nation, don't really know very much about what goes on behind prison walls. Some of the areas which we know very little about and are in need of systematic analysis are the types and amount of research on human subjects that have been and are being carried on; whether the rationale for prison research (that being the availability of a normal controlled population) is in fact valid and acceptable, or merely a justification for using a disenfranchised segment of society. What is the value of much of the research currently being conducted in prisons? Is it of scientific value or, as is suspected by many, merely to increase corporate profits and to increase the status and prestige of the researcher? Why do prisoners volunteer? Is it relief from boredom, money, or, as some would have us believe, the desire to serve one's country and to be socially useful? What follow-up mechanisms are used to keep track of prison subjects once they leave prison? Is there stress on the subject during and after the experimentation period? What are the methods of coping with stress? One last question that is related to prison experimentation and that has concerned me for some time is whether human experimentation impinges upon Black people by design, default, or coincidence as a natural result of our class position? Or, is it because of our color?

Important research must also be conducted on the political economy of human experimentation. The importance of human experimentation to the political and economic structures of this country is enormous. New methods of control from weapons to propaganda eventually must be tried out on humans. Technological innovations whether good or bad that are designed for "the good of society" will prove their worth only by being used on humans. These questions of public policy will be more fully outlined later.

The dollar plays a large role in human experimentation as it does in every other sphere of American life. The decision to put a new drug on the market, or to conduct a piece of social research, has some very basic economic overtones that often overshadow the scientific value of the research to be carried out. Questions of economic efficiency and social costs arise in the area of human experimentation and our present answers to these questions appear to be that it is economically more efficient and socially less costly to use the poor, the Black and the "captive" as research subjects. We must begin to find alternatives to this market ordering system or devise ways to make it socially costly and economically inefficient. We must make sure that the burden is spread to the entire population or not allow human experimentation to go on at all. We have seen voices rising out in anger and defiance in Black communities throughout the nation against the overconcentration of social and biomedical experimentation on Black citizens. The cry of "community control" has extended from control of political and educational institutions to control over research as well. Such demands have much relevance to the area of public policy-making which is the last area I shall cover.

Most of the policies concerning human experimentation have been administrative decisions and in matters involving liability and malpractice, legal decisions. At the federal level, legislative action has been minimal although there are signs that this is changing. The Kennedy Hearings in the Senate are one example. What I would like to suggest here is that further research on the policy-making process, its strengths and weaknesses must be carried out by Black scholars in order that we may make our voices heard more effectively. It has been suggested that "the streets" is the only place for Black entry into the policy-making process. I would hope there are other avenues that could be utilized more effectively and with less harm to Black people.

It appears to me that we need to know a great deal more about the regulatory process in the Federal Government and its policy-making role. Because agencies such as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Food and Drug Administration, and the National Institute of Health, play such a large role in defining what can and cannot be done in the area of human experimentation, and investigating possible abuses of human subjects, it is imperative that those concerned with public policy, social policy, and the like, take a closer look at the structure of regulatory agencies, the decision-making processes within these agencies, and identify ways in which Blacks can influence decisions that are made. We must explore the social, political and economic implications of decisions that are made by these agencies in order that we might educate our communities and so that we can react intelligently and with alternatives to proposed and existing policies. Research into regulatory agencies as bureaucratic institutions is needed also. We must examine the ability of such institutions to regulate as they are mandated to do so. It is often claimed that if you want something done either improperly or not at all, give it to a bureaucrat. We must also, in our examination of regulatory agencies, look at the availability of funding and staff to do the job correctly. I tend to think that we must do a great deal more to make these agencies more accountable to the public. It appears that too often decisions are made either in ignorance or with only limited views on a given subject by these agencies. We must, as voices from within the Black community, provide the other side of the story. One particular decision that relates to human experimentation that should be brought up is that of the peer review committee that is supposed to approve and/or review experimental projects and procedures. As presently conceived, such committees are comprised of persons who are the peers of the researcher and not peers of the subject.

As I spoke previously of the cry for community control, we must ask ourselves whether peer review committees should also be under community control or at the very least, have community representation.

One last point that I would like to raise before concluding is that there is also a need for more critical assessments of the nature of the society in which we live, not only at the applied level, but at the level of theory as well. We must begin to look systematically at alternative political, social, and economic arrangements, that will free us from the racist and oppressive conditions under which we live, but also, allow us as a people to prosper spiritually and materially without becoming the slaves of technology.

Conclusions

It goes without saying that human experimentation is a complex and sensitive form of research. It has scientific, ethical, legal, political, economic and social ramifications, and others as well. We often don't know that we are engaging in experimentation, this may be especially true of social scientists, and we often misinterpret or fail to understand the meaning of human experimentation. Perhaps more importantly, we fail to understand the meaning and value of human life. It is on this point, that much of the use of science has been so disasterous. Human experimentation cannot exist in an objective, scientific vacuum. It must be responsive to the human side of the equation and as Black scholars, we must continually take cognizance of this fact. We cannot be content to get "fat" research grants or to seek status and prestige at the expense of violating human life. We must be more than technicians and hustlers if we are to advance as a people.

I hope that I have been able to point out some possible research directions that will bear fruit in many ways. But is is my utmost concern that we use the scientific method to preserve our humanity.

Footnotes

1. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, (1969), p. 462.

2. Definition by Irving Ladimer in: *Clinical Investigation in Medicine,* ed. by Irving Ladimer and Roger W. Newman, Law Medicine Research Institute, Boston, (1963), p. 27.

3. This, and other codes can be found in: Jay Katz, *Experimentation with Human Beings,* Russell Sage Foundation, 1973.

4. *Research on Human Subjects,* by Bernard Barber, et al. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1973, p. 1.

5. Three major works which have shown academicians' interest in the topic are: "Ethical Aspects of Experimentation with Human Subjects," *Daedalus.* (Spring 1969) and, *Clinical Investigation in Medicine: Legal, Ethical and Moral Aspects,* ed. by Irving Ladimer and Roger W. Newman, Law-Medicine Research Institute, Boston, 1963. Also, a recently published

work entitled: *Experimentation with Human Beings,* by Jay Katz, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1973.

6. See: Department of HEW guidelines published in the Office of Grants Administration Manual, Chap. 1-40. Also, see DRG Newsletter, May 1971, published by NIH.

7. See: Kennedy Hearings on Health. U.S. Senate 1973.

8. Barber, Op. Cit., p. 95.

9. Margaret Mead, "The Study of Human Subjects," in Ladimer and Newman, p. 81.

10. Ladimer and Newman, Op. Cit., p. 219.

SOCIAL INDICATORS FROM A BLACK PERSPECTIVE

by

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It would be appropriate to begin any discussion of a new field or type of social research with a brief description of how Black people (or a Black person) have participated in the research from the investigator's standpoint rather than the population or sample standpoint. In recent years, various public and private organizations have sponsored projects in the area of social indicators. Among these have been the National Science Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, Oak Ridge Associated Universities, Southern Regional Demographic Group, the states of Michigan and California, the cities of Los Angeles, San Diego and Kansas City, the U.S. Departments of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the National League of Cities (NLC).

Most of these projects began to receive public impetus following HEW's 1969 publication entitled *Toward a Social Report,* which was the government's first attempt at presenting a social document comparable to the President's *Economic Report.* One of the benefits of this effort was a grant by HUD to NLC which funded its Urban Observatory Network for the development of governmental indices in various cities. The Atlanta Urban Observatory, located at Georgia State University, chose for various political reasons to subcontract the project to Atlanta University School of Social Work. Out of some eight cities and 15 universities involved in the NLC project, only two Black schools were represented, Atlanta University and Fisk University. Fisk's involvement appeared to be on a consultant's basis rather than a staff researcher basis. Needless to say, the experience of working on the project has been most confusing and frustrating; but somewhat institutionally and personally rewarding.

Before offering operational considerations of social indicator research, let me say a few words on my personal perspective of Black research, which grows from the Atlanta University School of Social Work's perspective on the subject. Our frame of reference is grounded[1] on the realization that contrary to the prevailing ideology of "pure science," all knowledge is derived and imparted in a political context. In the United States, the context is white nationalsim and its attendant sisters domestic and international exploitation.[2] Thus, any discussion of social indicators must be viewed in terms of the political context in which the assessment takes place. Research either functions as an instrument which is used to maintain the existing state of affairs (as exemplified in the research excursions of Jensen, Banfield, Moynihan and countless others), or it becomes an instrument by which men and women can deal critically as well as creatively with reality and discover means through which they can participate in the transformation of their current condition.[3]

Social research, in other words, should have only two major functions for the Black community: 1) the countering of racist research which depicts Blacks as inferior, or Black communities as pathological; the conclusions upon which social policies such as benign neglect are adopted; and 2) the development of an information base about the Black community which can be utilized effectively in the survival and developmental strategies of Black people. Most of our limited research energies should be concentrated in the second area. It is in this area that we should find studies of creative modes of Black child development, studies of the distribution of various skills among Blacks needed in nation-building efforts, and studies that depict the various contradictions in this socio-cultural setting—contradictions which not only serve to raise the consciousness of Black people, but also lead to sound policy both internal to the Black community and more broad-based for governmental settings.

It is in this second area that we place the study of social indicators from a Black perspective. In this context, social indicator research seeks to point out the differential quality of life positions between Blacks and whites, the oppressed and the oppressor. Additionally, social indicators seek to demonstrate the trends in certain social problems, issues, or conditions pertinent to Black survival and development. Quantitatively, a social indicator is a statistic or group of statistics that demonstrate the trend of movement of an issue or problem that has relevancy to the needs and aspirations of the people concerned. Qualitatively, a social indicator is a series (trend) of events, policies or occurrences which describe the nature and reasons for changes in or maintenance of the conditions of the people concerned.

Together these two definitions offer insight into another use of social indicator research—impact analysis. With the advent of new planning and administrative concepts, such as PPBS, management by objectives, cost effectiveness analysis, etc., the necessity for a mechanism for reception of progressive feedback on the changes that have occurred as a result of some specified policy, become more and more evident. This is true on both a micro and macro level.

Consequently, we see social indicator research at two stages of what we can call the "planned change" process. The first stage is problem identification. By analyzing trends in various domains such as economics, health, housing, education, etc., a picture can be drawn of the disparities in the distribution of quality of life resources. (The assumption here is that inequitable distribution of resources is a problem.) The next stage in which indicators are introduced follows the policy formulation, program development and implementation phases of the planned change. This stage is generally referred to as evaluation. Although social indicators do not provide a total or complete evaluation framework, in this context, indicators can be used to determine the impact of the "plan" on the conditions addressed, as well as give greater insight into the nature of the problem, which allows for more sound policy decisions and program planning.

For example, through the analysis of infant mortality data, over the past several years, we can see that the number of Black infant deaths is decreasing, but is still twice the rate of whites as it has been for some time. We can also see in such data that most Black infant deaths result from environmental factors such as climate, nutrition, infections, poisonings, etc., either for the mother or child, and that most white infant deaths result from illnesses that are more internal in nature. Additionally, we see that infant deaths are higher among low-income and less educated groups. Based on this information, we may be tempted to pursue programs for health education among poor Black people; however, we may discover, that Black infant mortality does not substantially decline with the institution of such programs. Consequently, we move to ask other questions about the problem, such as the availability of health services to expectant Black women and their families. Further analysis may systematically lead us to the question of income levels and its direct effect on the quality of health for Black people.

The problem is constantly reexamined and redefined, based on the analysis of trend data and the programs, policies, and other events which may have had some impact on the data. Critically, one can also determine what the nature of certain problems are by compiling lists of policy decisions on various government levels within specified issue areas. For example, all policies set forth in the area of health could be compiled chronologically, as can related program items such as the opening of a new health center in X community, and related events such as a demonstration by community residents on Y hospital and the hospital's response, in order to provide a more indepth understanding of the problem and the appropriate action for solving the problem.

Before moving deeper into the questions of methodology and analysis in social indicators research, certain political questions must be related. The obvious first question is that of auspices or sponsorship. Undoubtedly, much of the information generated through social indicator research can be utilized to inflict further oppressive controls over Black people, and data which indicate that the gap between Black and white income (by percentage) can be utilized to foster policies for decreasing emphasis on public programs and increasing emphasis in the private sector (without public controls) for handling the economic needs of Black people. Increasing welfare roles have been utilized to create deceptions of welfare fraud, thus tightening restrictions on eligibility.

These types of problems lead us to the question of the policymakers and their purposes for indicator research. It has been this writer's observation that local politicians (and certainly federal ones) only want research that makes them "look good" to their particular constitutency. A councilman wants his district to appear better than other districts, thus the researcher becomes a political tool for re-election, rather than an instrument for change. Social indicator research must be channeled properly. This issue will be addressed later.

Methodology and Analysis

Various approaches have been used in the study of indicators. Most of these have been designed in a manner which gives a measure of the life quality of a particular population. Obviously, there has been little or no agreement on any one method of measuring such an abstract value. Some of the largest arguments have centered around whether the quality of life can or cannot be empirically measured. Operating on the assumption that quality of life can be measured, and given all the value implications inherent in such an attempt, most researchers in this area have proceeded to socially dissect life into various categories or domains for which measures can be proposed. Some of these domains are economics, housing, education, crime, health, race relations, environment, etc., and obviously, there is social and political overlap among these areas. However, for the sake of a functional design, these divisions can be formed with the intention of developing a comprehensive model once some refinement has been made in this field of social science.

Similar questions arise when designing social indicator research within a specified domain. Is there any one data category that provides an accurate measure of the quality of life? If so, what are the important ones? Is there any valid way of combining a series of data into one index? Which data has the most weight? Obviously, in most, if not all cases, no one statistic is adequate enought to depict the total quality of life, even within a particular domain. Although infant mortality tells us something about the differences in Black and white health conditions, it does not tell us enought to be comprehensive in the formulation of health policy for the Black community. In a similar light, differentials in Black and white income do tell us something substantial about the economic quality of life for Blacks, but it does not tell us enought. Let's use the example of economic quality of life as an illustration of some of the problems and issues of methodology and analysis in social indicator research.

The economic demain in social indicator research must be viewed in a different perspective than the economic indicators currently produced by the government, which analyzes such things as Gross National Product (GNP), Net National Product (NNP), consumer price index, etc. These indicators are designed to describe the changing wealth of the nation. In the social context, however, economic indicators must focus on the economic resources available to a population, particularly families in order to negotiate the broader system for the goods and services that this society has deemed necessary. Consequently, we tend to look at income, which demonstrates white people's ability to negotiate the broader system for its goods and services.

However, we must go deeper into the measure of income, in terms of how it is measured and some of the inherent difficulties in its usage. Generally, income is expressed as a median or mean for all Black families and all white families, but this measure does not depict two important conditions in the Black community. First of all, it does not show that more Black women with families work than do white women with families. (Seven out of ten Black wives work compared to five out of ten white wives in families where the husband also works.[4]) Secondly, measures of central tendency in income do not accurately describe the wide disparities of income within the Black community itself.

The fact that we are currently forced to utilize such data elicits other crucial problems in designing social indicator research for the Black community. Do the measures reflect the true Black condition? Are necessary data generated to be uitlized for such reflection? In most cases the answer is no. Consequently, we must utilize current data sources with as much creativity as possible, until we can ring forth the most descriptive data.

One method of making current data more useful (in addition to comparing Blacks with whites) can be demonstrated in the economic domain. If one were to assume that Blacks should receive an income of no less than the cost of living estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, (BLS), (a policy decision for Black politicians and advocates) then that estimate can be used to demonstrate that Blacks median income is substantially less than both the lower and intermediate levels in this country. There are obviously various technical problems in utilizing BLS/C/L estimates. First, although they are relatively accurate, they are only estimates. Secondly, they are estimates for a family of four, but Black families tend to be slightly larger than this (4.5), and white families tend to be smaller (3.7)[5]. However, adjustment in the estimates can be made which, in fact, demonstrate greater differences in Black family income and the cost of living, and lesser differences between white family income and the cost of living. Third, the cost of living estimates do not take into account the "color tax" that Blacks are forced to pay in the form of higher prices and interest rates.[6] If this could be included, the differences between Black family income and the cost of living would be greater.

The problem of measuring economic quality of life becomes greater when one begins to consider other pertinent areas such as unemployment, labor force participation and tax effort. For example, in southern states, a family making $3,000 pay 3.5% of its total income in sales taxes, while a family making $30,000 pays only 2% of its total income in sales taxes.[7] The question of developing a single index may be an irrelevant one when it comes to economics.

In other domains, various attempts have been made[8] to organize measures, within one domain, into a flow charge of services and outputs based on systems analysis. For example, if we look at the domain of education, we have to look at as many inputs into ones learning from birth to death in order to determine its quality. Consequently, we create various components, beginning with family and moving to peer groups, formal early childhood education, primary school, secondary school, job training, and so forth. Each of these units supposedly has a measurable input into the education quality of the community. These input measures would include the educational level of the family and families of peer group members, the amount of money spent per student at each level of formal education, the salary and education level of teachers, the "relevance" of the curriculum to the target population, space factors in facilities, etc. There is little question about the vailidity of most of the input measures. However, the questions which arise, center around the ability to empirically measure such values as "relevance" of curriculum.

Outputs measures in this type of model would include total education level of the community, income, reading scores, etc. Pushout rates can be considered an output as well, but may be a residual effect rather than an "intended" output. Serious questions should be raised here about the validity of certain output measures such as reading scores and aptitude tests, which, as most people recognize, are highly biased. The question of utilizing such measures as test socres as a gage is not a point of contention, but rather the nature of tests themselves. Testing aptitude, from a Black perspective, should be one of the needs *indicated* in the differences in Black and white aptitude scores.

This systems approach to indicators research is very young, but nonetheless, a worthwhile effort because it combines problem definition with feedback and evaluation. The problems which arise in such an effort are the same as those confronted in most systems analysis efforts. The important variable is which component of the system bears the most weight? Specifically can the components (inputs and outputs) be ranked according to importance for the purpose of policy formulation? Also is there empirical information generated in each component? The difficulty with this approach for quality of life studies is that it lacks an accurate model of the various socio-political systems in which we function. The analysis of data is a most crucial area for Black people, with regards to any research effort. Our Black perspective should give us a tool for interpreting information in the interest of Black people. As stated earlier, crucial questions raised deal with Black-white differentials, particularly when it comes to such hard items as income, occupation, employment, housing standards, life expectancy, infant mortality, etc. There are, however, various other issues that must be raised in data analysis. First, we must avoid the trap of what Wilhelm called "delusions of progress."[9] Although the percentage of Black median income has increased, the dollar gap has also increased from $3,000 in 1964 to $4,000 in 1970. More exemplary of this trap is the following:

> . . . it was within Hough that income dipped from $4,732 in 1960 to $3,966 in 1965—a 16.2 percent decrease within only five years . . . outside the Hough Central, and Glenville areas Negro income increased.[10]

Second, our analysis should avoid "playing down" serious problems in the Black community that have in the past been used as racist stereotypes. An example of this is in the area of crime. Crime must be dealt with, but in the appropriate perspective. Specifically, crimes against property are economic related acts which call for relevant economic policy; drug related crimes are both economic and health related, which thus call for economic and health policies, Black homicide, i.e., Blacks killing Blacks, has an effect on both the economics and mental health of the Black community, therefore, the Black homicide rate should be high on the list. The reduction of Black homicides would be a strong indicator of increasing good health and solidarity.

A third point crucial to any indicator analysis is the ability to predict change or maintenance. What is indicated about the state of affairs in a particular domain. If the data continues to move in the same direction, remain at the same level, or shift to another direction? If there has been a constant rate of increase in the Black homicide rate over the past ten years, in spite of the increase in the number of social programs and law enforcement programs, we can expect the rate to continue to increase until an effective program is implemented.

Creativity in the Development and Use of Indicators

In addition to utilizing currently generated data, new measures more applicable to the Black experience must be developed, and the generation of data for these measures must eventuate. Following is a list of additional measures that deserve consideration, refinement, and expansion for evaluation of the quality of Black life. Some are relatively new and some are not, but nonetheless important.[11]

I. **Physical and Mental Health Status**

   A. **Infant Morbidity** — Number of infants developing diseases between birth and age one based on cause, sex and race.

   B. **Infants Born with Abnormalities** — Number of infants born with abnormalities that can be traced to prenatal care, according to cause, sex and race.

   C. **Malnutrition** — Number of incidents of malnutrition per target population.

   D. **Drug Addiction Rate and Deaths Due to Addiction** — Number of hard drug addicts per a given number of community members, i.e., a target population. Included in the drug addiction rate should be the number of deaths that can logically be attributed to the heavy use of drugs. This indicator assumes that drug addiction is incompatible with good health.

   E. **Alcoholism Rate and Deaths Due to Alcoholism** — Number of confirmed alcoholics per a given number of community members, i.e., target population and the number of deaths that can be logically traced to alcoholism. Again, the medical condition of alcoholism is deterious to physical and mental well-being.

F. **Expectancy of Healthy Life** – Average number of days spent bedridden, hospitalized or institutionalized during life and *per year* according to age, sex, race, cause, and intensity of cause. Data analyzed this way may be obtained through U.S. Census Life Tables.

G. **Accessibility of Medical Services** – Average and range distance of the target population from health facilities (as compared with some established standards for "good" accessibility as set by hospitals, American Medical Association or Public Health agencies); the number of Health personnel per target population and the number of health facilities, such as hospital beds, comprehensive health centers, etc., per target population. The American Medical Association and county health departments have some data and standards through which this indicator can be measured.

H. **Mental Illness** – Incidents or reported cases of mental illness and/or mental retardation per target population.

I. **Suicide Rate** – Incidents of reported suicide per target population.

J. **Homicide Rate** – Incidents of reported homicide by race, age and sex of the perpetrators and victims. One might go so far as translating incidents of deaths by drug overdose as homicide.

II. Economic Status: Indicators

A. **Sporadic Employment Level** – Proportion of labor force employed less than six cumulative months during a year. This category seeks to include students, part-time workers, seasonal employees, etc. This statistic can be obtained by combining data available on seasonal employment, part-time employment, and other employment categories fitting into this definition.

B. **Overemployment Level** – The number of persons in a target population who work on the average of more than 40 hours per week in a year. This statistic should be related to the median income of those who work more than 40 hours per week in the same target population, the median income of the entire target population, and the standard of living index for the particular urban setting.

C. **Economic Dependency Level** – Proportion of the adult population of a target group whose sole source of income is governmental subsidy, through social security, public welfare, etc.

D. **Consumer Bondage** – Amount of money owed on personal property, loans, medical bills, etc. by income levels and target populations. A family may have a sizeable income, but be so far in debt that their actual economic status is not as high as their income suggests. This type of data presently exists only in credit unions. Private organizations may be successful in surveying communities for this information.

E. **Reserve Consumer Potential** – Median valuation of savings, securities, stocks, bonds, and other assets that may serve as disposable resources when needed by a family. Consideration may be given here to the assessed valuation of personal property. These figures indicate a family's ability to liquidate property in times of emergencies.

III. Education Status: Indicators

A. **High School Withdrawal Rate** will be determined by the local school system's definition of "dropout" or withdrawal rate, which may change from locality to locality. These figures, as all of the following, should be categorized according to age, sex, and race.

B. **Vocational Training Index** – Number of persons 14 years old or over engaged in vocational training programs. Our position in that vocational training is a form of education leading to gainful employment. Such programs can be found in greater quantities in some target communities as opposed to others.

C. **College Graduate Index** – Proportion of persons 25 years old or older in a target population holding college degrees. Apparently this statistic is only available through private organizations that have education action programs, such as the Urban League.

D. **Expanded Education Index** – Proportion of persons 18 years old or older in a target population entrolled in undergraduate study, full-time or part-time. State departments of education (boards of regents) have this data, although it may or may not have racial breakdowns.

E. **Overall Education Level** – Median number of years of school attended for a target population.

IV. Political Position[12]

This category is developed for the purposes of indicating the ability of a target group to have some level of control over the political decisions concerning that group. Political position should be examined in relationship to economic status. The theory here is that rising economic status does not always bring advancing political status for some target groups.

A. **Voting Percentages of a Target Group** – Simply the number of people voting of those eligible to vote in various elections or referendums on government affairs. Standards must be set by making comparisons between the voting positions of various groups. Low voting percentages may be due to feelings of apathy, insignificance of the issues or devices, or discrimination in voting eligibility.

B. **Voting Significance** – Has four categories: (1-a) the ability of a target group to elect a proportionate number of representatives to the total representatives compared with the proportion of target group members to the total population; (2-a) the proportion of target group appointees to policy-making positions in government, and elected to committee or commission chairmanship positions; (1-b) the responsiveness of target group elected and appointed representatives to their constituencies, i.e., their voting record on legislation or appropriations that will provide more and/or better money and services to the constituency; and (2-b) the responsiveness of governmental bodies in providing more money and better services to a target group.

C. **Organizational Influence** – The ability of target group voluntary organizations to effect policy decisions and administration of policy. This category is difficult to measure in quantifiable terms. However, some items may be considered as indicators of organizational influence: 1) amount of time spent in lobbying activities for or against chosen legislative proposals in comparison to the number of successes and failures in achieving the organization's goals on that proposal. This figure is insignificant unless it is compared with the successes and failures of other target groups including business and professional associations; 2) the ability of organizations to effect the administration of certain programs by placing some of its members on boards of public-funded projects, or by creating a turn-about in administrative policy by bringing various pressures to bear on administrators.

Obviously there are fallacies in using a measurement based on the number of reversals of policy decisions when one or some target groups are involved in bearing pressure. The question is, "Who brought the most pressure to bear, and who was involved behind the scenes?" However, this problem can be eliminated to some degree by observing the number of administrative policy reversals in which a particular target group organization has participated, and comparing it with the involvement of other target group organizations' administrative policy reversals. An example of this may be organizations from two different communities and their ability to stop public housing, highways, school busing, or urban renewal, that have been planned for their respective areas.

V. Taxes, Tax Efforts, Public Services

Among the current concerns of urban governments and residents is the issue of taxes and their use. Issues have been raised around some citizens' "tax effort" as compared with other citizens' "tax effort," and also around the level of public services in certain communities as compared with other communities. We will attempt to study this question of taxes and tax use by utilizing the following three categories: a) tax-income effort; b) tax-services effort; and c) per capita public services.

A. Tax Income Effort – This category corresponds closely to the economist's general definition of tax effort, i.e., the amount paid by an individual in taxes versus his income. We have extended this definition to get a picture of the tax effort of an entire target population. We will attempt to compare the average amount spent on taxes by a target population taxpayer divided by the average (median) income of that target population, with the same data for other target populations.

$$\frac{\textit{average amount of taxes paid by target population taxpayer}}{\textit{median income of target population}}$$

The amount spent on taxes will include local income tax (if one exists), property taxes, and sales taxes. Income and property tax can be computed from Internal Revenue Services data as provided to the U.S. Census, which can be placed into target groups according to census tracts. Sales tax can also be computed from I.R.S.-based metropolitan assessor's data used in filing income tax.

It may become important to determine how much higher-income groups are able to discount their income tax due to property taxes, as compared with lower-income groups who generally do not own taxable property.

This measure seeks to answer further the question, "who makes the greatest tax effort?"

B. Tax-Services Effort – This category is defined as follows: the total amount of taxes collected by a locality divided into the total amount of taxes collected from a particular target population:

$$\frac{\textit{total amount of taxes collected from a particular target group}}{\textit{total amount of taxes collected by the locality (city or county)}}$$

Again these taxes should include property, income, and sales taxes.

This percentage is compared with the amount of money spent on public services by the locality divided into the amount spent on public services for a particular target population.

$$\frac{\textit{amount spent on public services by a locality}}{\textit{amount spent on public services for a target population}}$$

Again these taxes should include property, income, and sales taxes.

This percentage is compared with the amount of money spent on public services by the locality divided into the amount spent on public services for a particular target population.

$$\frac{\textit{amount spent on public services by a locality}}{\textit{amount spent on public services for a target population}}$$

This data attempts to determine what equity, if any, exists between what various communities financially invest into a government, effort-wise, and what they receive. Some preliminary tests on some areas of New York City performed by Walter Stafford, prfoessor of City Planning at Hunter College, indicate that poor Blacks and other poor minorities make a greater tax-services effort, in relation to the amount spent on public services, in their communities. These services include police and fire protection, libraries, parks, recreation facilities, public works maintenance, education, social services, etc. In performing preliminary tests these services will be defined in greater detail.

C. Per Capita Public Services – This category is an analysis of the amount spent on public services per capita in a locality. This statistic can be used to determine how much "should" be spent for a target population in comparison with others. This "expectation" of expenditures for a group is purely in economic terms, and does not take into account extenuating social conditions that may exist. However, it does provide a basis upon which one can begin to determine equity.

x = amount spent per capita on public services
n = number of people in a target population
xn = amount that "should" be spent on public services for that target population.

Categorized data is not readily available on tax efforts or the breakdown of expenditures on public services per community or target group. Much of this would have to be obtained through extensive and careful study. We feel, however, that the thorough knowledge of tax effort and public services expenditures would be a tremendous benefit to public policy makers in the allocation of public service resources.

Summary and Conclusions

Social indicators research is not an area to be disregarded by Black social researchers. It is an area of ever-increasing significance in the future of public policy formulation, as indicated by the rapidly increasing quantity of literature in the area and the increasing investments to social indicators made by governmental bodies. Although these investments are haphazard and disorganized, the need for useful, quantitative, social reporting has been recognized at key levels of policy formulation.

Our efforts in the social indicators "movement" should seek to produce the most accurate pictures of the quality of Black life in America in order to, through whatever political process available, produce positive policies for our people. In addition, if we are serious about building alternative and counter institutions in the Black community, we must avoid the technical pitfalls that plague the programs which have been developed by others for us. These pitfalls center around the failure to use (even when possible) empirical information which provides an accurate description of the conditions which exist; thus social indicators can assist in providing this description. We need more than ideology to build Black communities.

In efforts to develop such descriptive measures, in our current position minus all necessary information, we must seek to be creative in the utilization of current data, in order to point to inequities and contradictions in the distribution of resources and the quality of life between Blacks and whites. We must further refine our efforts in describing the systems we confront. Most systems theoreticians tend to depict oppressed sectors of the systems they develop as secondary or tertiary elements. The factors of racism and capitalism must be identifiable component of any systems model affecting Black people. Systems model building is a prerequisite for obtaining maximum utility from social indicators.

Earlier I mentioned the political question of social indicator research. I avoided concentrating on the political context, because the entire discussion of social indicator research is political. Various investigators into the field, Hoffman, Bady, Henroit, Gross, etc., have acknowledged the reality that any study of the "quality of life" is a political study. Such studies assume some preference of contentions that are not currently in existence. What are the trends in the economic, health, and educational quality of life of a population? Is it a political question, as is the question of policy and programs which should be formulated to change or maintain these trends? The crucial question confronting the Black researcher is how he can best channel his efforts, in order to positively affect the quality of Black life. This question, however, confronts us in many more areas than simply social indicators research.

There are various techniques proposed for affecting public policy. As a conclusion point, I suggest to Blacks interested in this area of research that measures and models cannot be developed in an intellectual vacuum. We must work closely with Blacks directly involved in the policy formulation and program development level. Black politicians, planners, developers, organizers, consumers, etc., should be actively consulted in the design and analysis stage of research. Only when this is done, will the political activist be able to understand, appreciate and utilize the research. Don't hand them a report and say "now deal with it." Have them involved in the process. Do not allow the schism which exists between the white academician and the white politician to formulate between the Black academician and the Black politician. Blacks must be both politically active as well as academically efficient.

Footnotes

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WHY NORM–REFERENCED?

Norm-referenced testing has been the accepted method for measuring the growth of American students for two hundred years. Admission to many schools and permission to pursue certain skills and professions are based on scores taken from norm-referenced examinations.

Educational Technologists have begun to criticize this custom because the research tends to indicate that this is an unfair method of selecting and predicting, especially for some minorities. This paper will cite some of the research findings and give the case for criterion referenced rather than norm-referenced testing.

The concept of the rights of all youth to an education has become a part of our political creed and we have established a general system of publicly supported schools from kindergarten through senior high school. A dictum of our society seems to be the best education for all children of all people. Today, the growing complexity of our technical society, plus the unprecedented increase in the number of college-age youth raised the question of how far and within what limits the rights of education should be extended.[1]

Higher education has only recently become a mass commodity. As late as 1940, only 19 per cent of all Americans 18-21 years of age were enrolled in colleges and universities; by 1950 this had increased to 26 per cent; and by 1960 it had grown to 38 per cent. That proportion increased steadily every year until, by 1965, 42 per cent were in attendance in institutions of higher education.[2] Predictions are that in 1980, 60% of the youth in this category will be enrolled in post high school institutions. The number of college students has increased dramatically from 3,100,000 to 4,668,000 during the period of 1951 to 1966. That number has been predicted to grow to 10,200,000 by 1980.[3] This continuous and unprecedented increase in the percentage and number of youth seeking education beyond high school reflects in part a growing realization of the necessity of post high school education to successfully deal with the complexities of today's world. Concomitantly with these developments, the issue of the right to post high school education has become a subject of concern in educational circles.

The question of who gets into college and how has become a major issue. As a result of the current emphasis on college education as a desirable and almost essential preparation for useful remunerative employment, we seem to be facing a conflict between two factors: (1) the right of high school graduates to be given a chance to attend an institution of higher learning; (2) the desire of these institutions to upgrade the quality of higher education by raising academic standards.

If every high school graduate has a "right" to attend some institution of higher learning, there are several factors which exist if the student fails. To begin with, the student loses valuable time when he enters a college and is unable to succeed; (2) The student is frustrated after having been admitted to the college situation and is subsequently dropped for poor scholarship. (3) Since the student pays only approximately one third of the college expenses, the institution loses money that could have been spent on a student who might have succeeded; (4) The student deprives another capable student of the space he occupied at the university.

Not only is it detrimental to the college or university, but also to the student who is permitted to enter and eventually drops out. Summerskill[4] reviewed some 35 different studies on the college dropouts, dating from 1913 to 1957. He concluded that colleges lost contact with, on the average, approximately half of their students in the four years after matriculation. About 40% graduated on schedule and approximately 10% graduated at some college someday. So even if a student has a right to attend some college or the other, it is unfair to him, the institution, and other students if he is allowed to enter and subsequently fails.

Even if college is not the eventual goal of this population, one fact remains. That is, that some method of determining who will or will not be admitted to certain programs, colleges, etc., is always used. This selection process is almost always determined by some kind of test, usually a norm-referenced one. What is a norm referenced test? Zaccaria[5] says that the two types of measurement devices, relative and absolute, have come to be known as "norm-referenced and criterion-referenced measures." The norm-referenced measures have to do with the relative system of measurements and answer the questions of how well an individual compares with others in the sample.[1]

> According to Glaser and Klans, the prevalence of norm-reference measures of achievement, commonly called "grading on the curve," is due to the difficulty in specifying criterion behavior as instructional aims. However, "the utilization of course objectives as a standard against which to interpret a measure, as well as the use of group analyses as the standard producing a meaningful reference for an obtained achievement test score.[6]

The overwhelming use of norm-referenced testing has led to much unhappiness among many groups, especially minority groups. Phrases such as "culturally biased" have been used to express dissatisfaction with many of these tests. The public is demanding predictive reliability more and more and are increasingly reluctant to accept norm-referenced test scores as reliable. A review of the literature will express some concerns.

Literature on academic achievement has been extensive with much stress on "underachievers" and "overachievers;" intellectual and non-intellectual characteristics of persons studied. It is generally accepted by many that most studies are limited to a certain population in certain communities and because of the extreme differences on communities, the findings are frequently contradictory and may not be applicable universally.

Intellective Measures as Predictors

Certain studies tend to show that tests commonly used to predict success in college are generally reliable for whites. A review of the prediction of academic success for Black students, however, yields a considerably less consistent picture. First, a number of studies show low or negligible predictive validity for standard aptitude measures. A second type of finding is that these traditional aptitude measures have equal predictive validity for both white and Black students but only in situations in which Black students are in Black schools and white students are in white schools. Typical of this type of finding is the study of Clark[7] which determined that the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) of the college board was a poor predictor of academic success for Black students from segregated southern high schools attending integrated colleges. Clark found that these students as a group made satisfactory academic adjustment despite the fact that their average SAT scores were markedly below national norms consistent with academic success.

A general study of possible discrimination between the performance of white and Black students on items from the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) was made by Cleary.[8] He found few items on the PSAT which produced an uncommon discriminant. He concluded, however, that discrimination is not largely attributed to particular items but to the test as a whole.

A study by Bradley[9] found little validity for the American College Test (ACT) program aptitude scores in predicting grade point averages of Black students in predominantly white colleges in Tennessee.

Norm-referenced testing can also reveal such odd situations as reverse unfairness. Campbell's[10] study is an example. An aptitude battery was validated against a job knowledge test to determine if apittude tests are culturally biased when used to predict occupational success. Two hundred and eighty-seven white and one hundred and sixty-eight Negro medical technicians completed an eight test experimental aptitude battery and a job knowledge test developed as a criterion measure of job performance. Linear regression analysis was used to detect the potential bias. All the aptitude tests were found to be culturally biased, but seven of them displayed bias opposite to that expected. For any predictor score on the seven tests, white technicians were likely to score better on the job knowledge test than did Negroes with the same score. Consequently the bias was against the whites in that they performed better on the criterion for any given predictor score. To the investigators' knowledge there is no hypothesis or theory to explain the phenomenon of reverse unfairness.

In evaluating norm-referenced testing, even the location or site in which it is given, is now being questioned. Even more strangely, the race of the examiners is being as a deterrent to certain cultural groups. Several studies tend to show that race makes a difference, however, Caldwell and Knight[11] show that the race of the examiner is not a critical variable in test performance relating to Negro students.

The National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test was one which was highly ballyhooed to be one which was unbiased to Black students. It turned out to be merely another norm-oriented test which revealed some data of minor significance. Blumenthal[12] states, "Students were identified for participation in the third annual achievement scholarship program by two methods: (1) all United States high schools were asked to nominate talented Negro students; and (2) high scoring Negro students were identified on the N.M.S.Q.T. Of the 5,624 participants, about 20% entered the competition by nomination only, about 20% by test only, and the remainder were both nominated and took the test. A comparison of these groups indicated that the test tended to identify students of higher socioeconomic status, they had higher test scores and lower high school grades, and they attended larger and better equipped high schools than did those identified by the nomination procedures."

The literature consistently points out discrepancies between norm-referenced test scores and actual performance, particularly of minority groups. It appears to be time then, for minority educators (particularly Black), to stop moaning and criticizing "old fashioned tests" and look to testing which may prove more relevant and helpful in predicting and placing minority students. One possible replacement for the type of testing has to do with how well an individual has attained the criterion performance of the specified objectives, without reference to others in the target population.

Lessenger[13] states that at present there is a lack of confidence in our educational system. He believes that application of accountability would tend to improve the quality of education as well as restore confidence in the system.

"To achieve these results, the emphasis of this accountability in education must be on what has been learned. Too frequently, educational managers attempt to explain their activities in terms of resources and processes used, rather than learning results achieved. These explanations no longer are adequate . . . The public is demanding "product reliability" in terms of student capabilities and no longer will accept mere assertions of professional superiority in educational matters . . . educational accountability can be implemented successfully only if educational objectives are clearly stated before instruction starts."

Eiss[14] gives the main objectives of evaluation as the measurement of the outcomes of the goals of instruction. This is difficult since many of the goals are in the affective domain.

"Before adequate evaluation can be attempted, some means of evaluating objectives in the affective domain must be developed. This is probably one of the more difficult tasks confronting educators today. It is difficult to express affective goals in behavioral terms, because the "credibility gap is wider with affective goals than with cognitive goals."

Although it is much easier to produce norm-referenced measures, Zaccaria states that we must produce criterion-referenced measures if we are to determine whether students have met specified objectives. Test validity should be based upon the relevancy of content and mode of the practical situation. The development of performance metrics should precede, not follow the development of curriculum.

The evidence indicates that criterion-referenced tests can be constructed which can better measure all of the things that norm-references tests are supposed to be measuring but in many cases are not. This then, would change the entire testing concept as we know it. It follows then that if the testing concept is changed then public school education as we know it will be forced to change and for the better.

The challenge to Black educational test and measurement specialists, is then that they should be in the forefront in bringing about these changes. Not only should they construct criterion-referenced tests but validate, produce and sell them.

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THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF CROSS–RACIAL IQ COMPARISONS

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Through the years, many authors have sought to define the construct of intelligence. This construct, along with its traditional measure, the IQ test, is probably the best known by-product of psychology. Despite all of the words that have been written, however, there is still no clearly conceived theory of intelligence. The dilemma associated with the lack of a definition is interestingly characterized by McNemar (1964) who says,

> "A few words about definition may be in order. First, it might be claimed that no definition is required because all intelligent people know what intelligence is—it is the thing that the other guy lacks. Second, the fact that tests of general intelligence based on differing definitions tend to intercorrelate about as highly as their respective reliabilities permit indicates that, despite the diversity of definitions, the same function or process is being measured—definitions can be more confusing than enlightening." (p. 871)

As Alfred Binet, the father of the intelligence test, refined his test items, he began to describe intelligence as the tendency to take and maintain a definite direction, or the capacity to make adaptations to achieve a desired goal, or as the power of auto-criticism. Other writers offered definitions stressing learning ability, adjustment to the environment or abstract thinking.

Charles Spearman (1927), moving in another direction, postulated a two-factor theory of intellectual ability. According to him, there is a "universal" or "general" intellectual capacity called "g" and a number of specific or "s" factors which are peculiar to a particular activity. He decided that the universal "g" factor is found to some extent in all intellectual processes, therefore, two functions which are "saturated" with "g" correlate with each other. On the other hand, "s" factors may or may not be present in a given activity, but when present, they reduce the size of the correlation. The theory holds that intelligence tests measure the amount of "g" possessed by a given person and that those having a high degree of "g" are very intelligent.

Building upon the work of Spearman, L.L. Thurstone (1944) found multiple general factors in studying the intercorrelations between tests. Thurstone, therefore, divided Spearman's "g" into a number of group variables which he termed "primary mental abilities." These primary abilities, discovered through the use of multiple-factor analysis, laid the groundwork for the present day view of the intellect as being composed of several broad group traits. The specification of intelligence by means of factor analysis has grown to such an extent that there are now said to be more than 100 factors of cognition. Some of the chief figures in this research arena are Burt (1949), Vernon (1960), Humphreys (1962), and Guilford (1967).

In 1923, Boring stated that, "Intelligence as a measurable capacity must at the start be defined as the capacity to do well in an intelligence test. Intelligence is that the tests test." Jensen (1969) proclaims that, "Intelligence, like electricity, is easier to measure than to define." However, he affirms his belief that IQ tests measure Spearman's "g" and, in effect, defines intelligence a la Boring as that which is measured by intelligence tests. The fact that Jensen's definition has not progressed much from the circular reasoning of Boring almost a half century ago is illustrative of the theoretical state of cognitive psychology. During the same half century, various writers have defined intelligence as problem solving ability, effective manipulation of the environment, purposive action, good responses, etc.,

The purpose of this paper is to show how an ill-defined construct has been operationalized so as to demonstrate the innate "inferiority" of the black population. Some of the major comparative studies will be reviewed in an attempt to delineate the evolution of this process. Finally, the social consequences of cross-racial IQ comparisons will be outlined.

Studies of Black-White IQ Differences

The fact that the theoretical underpinnings of the construct of intelligence are unclear has not deterred social scientists from making inferences based upon so-called intelligence tests. The position taken, for the most part, is that these measures are saturated with "g" and that one's intelligence is, therefore, symbolized by his IQ score. The thrust of much of the research utilizing IQ tests has been to compare the relative standing of blacks and whites for the obtensible purpose of advancing scientific knowledge concerning the antecedents of the racial differences. One group of pessimists has set out to prove that black-white differences in IQ are gentically determined thus precluding the ability of blacks to profit from improved educational opportunities. Another group of optimists has insisted that racial IQ differences are not due to genes but rather to various environmental factors. A long-ranging dispute, popularly designated as the nature versus nurture controversy, has existed between these two opposing camps.

The nature-nurture argument seems to have had its origins in the United States around the turn of the century when leading biologists, psychologists, and educators verbalized strong support for the view that blacks are inferior to whites in mental ability. During that period, many professionals took the position that whites monopolized intelligence to the exclusion of other ethnic groups, particularly blacks. Evidence for such beliefs is cited by Ferguson (1916). Hall in 1905 and Odum in 1910 reasoned that the inferior intellect of blacks is due to the fact that their mental development terminates by the age of twelve, whereas such development among whites continues to expand throughout adolescence. It was believed that blacks are most deficient in the higher mental process including the abilities of abstract reasoning and judgment. More recently, the noted biologists, W.E. George (1962), contends that black mental inferiority is genetically determined and is, therefore, not susceptible to change through interventions from education and social legislation.

George's position culminates a long line of research concerning genetic influences on intelligence. Most of the relevant literature has been reviewed by Dreger and Miller (1968) and by Shuey (1966). Shuey's book refers to approximately 400 studies which utilized a total of 80 different tests of mental ability. The studies tend to show that blacks, on the average, score about 15 IQ points below the average for whites and that only 15 to 20 percent of all blacks score above the white mean. Shuey estimates the mean IQ of blacks to be in the neighborhood of 85, however, she concedes that when there are attempts to control the black and white samples for socioeconomic level, the average difference between them reduces to 11 IQ points with black still scoring lower.

Shuey points out, however, that of all the studies grouping subjects according to socioeconomic status, upper class black children averaged 2.6 IQ points below whites in the lower class. To Shuey, it seems improbable that upper and middle-class colored children would have no more culture opportunities provided them than white children of the lower and lowest class." (p. 520) The author's statement has lent support to those who argue for the genetic determination of racial IQ differences.

Klineberg (1944) reviewed a number of comparative studies and drew conclusions similar to those of Shuey, namely the mean IQ for blacks is 86 while that for whites is 100. Other findings have been that blacks score lower on so-called culture-free tests than on traditional measures of intelligence such as the Stanford-Binet nd the Weschler scales and that their performance is most deficient on sub-tests measuring abstract reasoning.

An investigation that has lead social scientists to hypothesize that the black-white discrepancy in test scores owes itself to hereditary factors is the one completed by Coleman, et. al. (1966). Their data indicates that blacks typically score on standard deviation below the average scores attained by whites and Orientals. The Coleman results also showed that black achievement is lower than that of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and American Indians. In other words, blacks appear to be at the bottom of the barrel in intellectual abilities and hereditarians say the predicament is caused by bad genes.

Further evidence of this trend is cited by the *U.S. News* and *World Report* (1966) which presents findings of the Armed Forces Qualification Test administered to 10 million men between the ages of 18 and 26. Sixty-eight percent of the blacks failed the test as compared to a failure rate of 19% among whites. Failing scores are said to approximate Stanford-Binet IQ's of 86 and below. Two other studies that have been used to support the belief that there are hereditary differences between blacks and whites in intelligence are those of Tanser (1939) and Bruce (1940). Tanser, studying all of the black children in grades one through eight in Ontario, Canada, found that on both language and nonlanguage tests black children scored from 15 to 19 IQ points below whites. Similarly, between 14 and 17 IQ points lower than white.

Perhaps the most outspoken proponent of the hereditarian viewpoint in contemporary America is Arthur R. Jensen (1969). His position is that the IQ difference etween blacks and whites represents a difference in genetic endowment. However, he acknowledges that a small part of this discrepancy is due to environmental factors. By reviewing studies of monozygotic twins, Jensen estimates that the proportion of IQ variability attributable to genetics is .75. He then looks at studies of foster children who were reared together to come up with an estimate of .24 as being the environmental proportion. From this, he concludes hat 1% of the variability in IQ is due to the interaction between heredity and environment.

In refuting Jensen's thesis, Light and Smith (1969) use a social allocation model to show that non-genetic differences between blacks and whites can account for the 15 point disparity in their IQ scores. The social allocation model assumes that races are assigned to various environments in a non-random fashion. In their example, Light and Smith argue that the genetic distributions of blacks and whites are equal. Since black children seem to cluster around the lower socioeconomic levels, and white children cluster toward the middle level, the authors found that the within group environmental variance was small. However, the environmental allocations yielded quite large between group environmental variance. Consequently, they concluded that environmental differences of 25 percent result in mean IQ differences between the races of 9 points with blacks scoring lower.

When Light and Smith included the 1 percent heredity-environment interaction effect projected by Jensen, they discovered that the position of black persons in their genetic categories were higher than their environmental positions. Thus, when the IQ means were weighted by the black allocations of genetic-environmental interaction, the mean IQ of blacks dropped almost 5 points, while that for whites was unchanged. This 5 points combined with the previously mentioned 9 points adds up to a 14 point IQ deficit for blacks. The overall results of these analyses demonstrate rather dramatically that the black-white difference in IQ suggested by Jensen is almost totally accounted for by non-genetic variables associated with the allocation of blacks and whites to their respective environments.

Gottesman (1968) also presents data refuting the results of investigations in monozygotic twins used by Jensen. Gottesman reports on a study of 38 pairs of identical twins who were reared apart. The twins differed in IQ by an average of 14 points and in some cases the differences were as much as 16 points. On the basis of these outcomes, the researcher believes that observed differences between whites and blacks are not sufficient evidence for concluding that blacks are genetically less endowed. Crow (1969) points out that most of these heritability studies have been conducted on white populations living in "normal" environments. In his view, there is no carryover from studies on white populations to minority and disadvantaged groups. He believes the heritability of intelligence found in white samples tells us nothing about whether IQ differences between blacks and whites are genetically determined. Such differences may just as likely be attributed to environmental variables that probably differ qualitatively in the two populations. Crow states, "It can be argued that being white or being black in our society changes one or more aspects of the environment so importantly as to account for the difference." (P. 309) Jensen does not end his argument with a discussion of the black-white IQ differential. He goes on to suggest possible dysgenic trends among blacks due to the high birthrate among lower class black women. He feels that such women have a high incidence of low IQ scores. In fact, Jensen quotes data indicating that 42.9% of blacks in the lowest class have IQ's below 75, thus classifying them as mentally retarded. He is worried that if we do not supplement welfare practices with "eugenic foresight", Then future generations might accuse our society of contributing to the "genetic enslavement" of blacks. In other words, Jensen is suggesting that we need a program of widespread birth control or possible sterilization for lower class black women.

Brazziel (1969) raises several penetrating questions relative to Jensen's position. In view of the well known racial mixing and intermarriage between blacks and whites, the former author wishes to know whether it is one's black genes or his white genes which causes incorrect IQ test responses. To get more accurate information on black intelligence, the author suggests that multi-ethnic tests be developed. Barring this, he recommends as an alternative that we "dehonkify" existing IQ tests.

Turning to the question of environmental influences on intelligence, the classical investigation paving the way for later research was the study of adopted children placed in good or poor homes. This literature will not be reviewed here, however, a few summary statements will be illustrative of the general conclusions drawn. Theis (1924) found that the adopted child's success in later life was not due to the economic level of the foster home but rather to the type of care the child had received. Freeman, Holzinger, and Mitchell (1928) noted that children adopted into better homes had higher IQ's than those adopted into poorer environments. Finally, Burks (1928) found evidence indicating that a superior home for adopted children can bring about an increase in their IQ's. Although these studies show trends of environmental influences on intelligence, it must be pointed out that selective placement was probably operating to the extent that adoption agencies attempted to place children in homes which were similar to them in intellectual level.

For evidence on whether the disparity between black and white IQ scores is caused by environmental factors, an early study by Klineberg (1935) is revealing. The investigator found that the IQ's of Southern Black children increased as a function of the length of time they attended schools in New York City. Carmichael (1959) discovered that following two years of school integration in Louisville, Kentucky, black IQ's increased at each grade level. Similarly, Lee (1959) observed that Southern born black children had a mean IQ of 87 when they entered the girst grade in Philadelphia. However, their average score increased to 93 when they were retested in the ninth grade. Lee also found that those Philadelphia born children who attended kindergarten attained significantly higher IQ scores at each successive grade than those who had not attended kindergarten. Studies such as these demonstrate that black IQ scores can be raised under favorable environmental conditions.

Other evidence of educational effects on IQ scores is provided by Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger (1937) who studied 19 pairs of identical twins reared apart. An analysis of the research data by Woodworth (1941) showed that differences in the number of years of schooling were associated with IQ differences earned by the students. There is also ample evidence that IQ scores can change IQ than his less well educated mate. However, in cases where there were differences in schooling ranging from 4 to 14 years, the average difference in IQ was 13 points with the twin having the most education scoring highest. One striking observation noted by Newman was a 24 point IQ difference between a pair of identical twins one of which had received only two years of education while the other one had attended college. These results illustrate that sizeable differences in IQ between individuals of identicae genetic make-up are possible because of environmental ariations.

Stalnaker (1948) also found that education can make a difference. He reports that the Pepsi-Cola scholarship program presented scholarships to black applicants whose test scores fell below the level of those attained by white award recipients. He noted that 55 of the 59 blacks were competing successfully at creditable colleges. Along these same lines, McQueen and Browning (1960) tested a matched sample of black and white youths in an integrated school. The IQ differences between these two groups of students were too small to have any practical meaning. Further, there were no meaningful differences in the grades earned by the students. There is also ample evidence that IQ scores can change over time. For instance, Ebert and Simmons (1943) in a longitudinal study of 181 upper class children over a seven year period found changes of 10 or more IQ points in half of the cases. Also Hilden (1949) reports variations in IQ scores ranging from 7 to 46 points among 30 children who were tested yearly until they reached maturity.

The implication for environmental factors producing changes in IQ is shown in studies by Pasamanick (1946), Passamanick and Knobloch (1955), and Anastasi and d'Angelo (1952) who found no differences in intelligence between black and white infants and preschoolers. However, Osborn (196) has noted that as these racial groups grow up, their IQ scores tend to diverge. In a four-year longitudinal study, Osborn found that from the sixth to the tenth grades, white IQ's superceded those of blacks by 23 points at every testing. Kennedy, Van de Riet, and White (1963) found a similar trend in that from the age of six through 12 there was a drop of nine IQ points from a mean of 84 to one of 75 among black youngsters. This decline with increasing age in black IQ's, being observed repeatedly, is referred to by Deutsch and Brown (1964) as the "cumulative deficit" phenomenon. Certainly, these dramatic reductions are environmentally conditioned.

It is possible that another non-genetic contributor to the differences in IQ scores between blacks and whites is the factor of marked variations in child-rearing practices. This is suggested by Hunt (1969) who goes on to say that black-white IQ divergencies are not inevitable, especially in view of the long standing slavery, poverty, and bondage of blacks. Kagan (1969) feels that early childhood experiences between mother and child are related to mental development. This type of interaction rather than genetic factors is the cause of low IQ scores among black children according to him. He believes that the majority of all children are capable of mastering the intellectual tasks of schools and that more effort should be devoted to the full actualization of this latent talent. Focusing on child rearing techniques, Sontag, et. al. (1958) note that children whose IQ's tends to increase over the years exhibit traits of independence, initiative, aggressiveness, and competition. Additionally, active children are inclined to make intellectual gains faster than passive children.

Most of the available information indicates that we are no longer justified in postualting a purely environmental or a purely hereditarian causation for intellectual functioning. Intelligence is affected by both heredity and environment, and these two factors interact in some way to determine the nature and extent of human abilities. We also know that IQ scores can and do change. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to determine the circumstances and conditions necessary to raise the IQ's of black children and to proceed with the practical application of the necessary techniques to achieve this goal. As far as determining the cause of racial differences in IQ, Montagu (1964) makes the most appropriate statement the present writer has found. He acknowledges the possibility that,

> " . . . all races are equally endowed with intelligence, but until the great experiment has been performed of allowing the members of all groups called 'races' equal opportunities for development we will never know whether they are or not. No group, 'race', or individual is endowed with intelligence. Individuals are endowed with genetic potentials for learning to be intelligent. Intelligence is a socially acquired ability, a complex problem-solving form of behavior which one must learn from other human beings. Not only that, human beings have to learn to learn. The capacity for intelligence becomes an ability only when it has been trained . . . " (p. 1415)

Conclusion

In spite of claims to the contrary, it seems that many of the investigations into racial differences have been stimulated by a desire to prove that whites are inherently superior to blacks in intellectual ability. This appears true because of the vehement refusal of a number of social scientists to relax their interpretations even though they know that their researches are riddled with methodological potholes. The following are but a few of the methodological problems found in cross-racial IQ studies:

1. IQ tests are based upon information that must be learned. Therefore, they are culturally unfair to persons who have not had the opportunity to learn the appropriate information.
2. In order to make inferences relative to racial differences, black and white samples must be matched on a variety of socio-economic and demographic factors. It is absolutely impossible to equate the status, experience, and environment [illegible] any black person with that of any white person.
3. There are no studies of black monozygotic twins who have been reared in differenct environments. Consequently, it is not known what proportion of the variance in black IQ scores is attributable to heredity or environment.
4. Researchers have not paid adequate attention to the effects of the experimenter race on IQ scores. It is doubtful whether most white testers establish sufficient rapport with black subjects to obtain valid IQ's.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, the investigation of black-white intellectual differences have continued full speed ahead.

The upshot of all this research has been a very thorough demonstration that blacks tend to score substantially below whites on IQ tests. Since these tests are believed to be highly satuarated with Spearman's "g" and since white identical twins show high concordance rates for IQ, it has been asserted that the black-white IQ differential is primarily due to an inferior generic strain within the black population. Now that cross-racial disparities in IQ scores has been shown, where do we go from here? The present writer does not believe there is need for more research comparing black children to whites on intellectual grounds. Sufficient information on the subject is already available. Some Zealots will disapprove of this suggestion, feeling that the advancement of scientific knowledge must not be obstructed. In all probability they will continue to generate such research under the misguided assumption that they will discover something new.

Racial IQ comparisons have resulted in the negative effect of influencing cutbacks in social programs and compensatory education because the research suggests that blacks do not possess the genetic potential to profit from educational and social enrichment. The outcomes of these studies are also damaging to the psychological well being of blacks in that they tend to incorporate into their psyche a feeling of inferiority and worthlessness. Additionally, the interpretation of test scores has been detrimental to blacks in employment practices and admissions to various types of schools and programs. These serious consequences can be terminated only if black parents are willing to stop the testing of their children by white experimenters. This action will not seem radical when one considers that white parents have never permitted black scientists to collect widespread genetic data on their children. It is doubtful whether there will ever be a change in black-white IQ differences unless the socio-economic conditions of blacks is made exactly equal to that of whites. This will not occur in the immediate future, so why waste time with more comparative research?

Much needs to be known about the meaning and expression of intelligence within the black population. For instance, it would be illustrative to find out how separated black monozygotic twins compare in IQ. This would assist in demonstrating the effects of environment on objective measures of black intelligence. Also there should be a thorough investigation of the cumulative deficit in IQ found among black children. It is imperative that this trend be reversed if, in fact, it is found to exist. Other lines of research might include studies of the range of individual difference in ability within the black population, expression of creativity among blacks, achievement motivation, and black child rearing practices. Where tests are necessary, they should be designed specifically for blacks with the administration and interpretation carried out solely by black psychologists and educators.

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BLACK COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATE OF THE ART

by

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The study of voluntary associations and community structure has been and continues to be a major component of the world to which social researchers address themselves. Analysts concerned with both the "pure and applied" aspects of voluntary association research have given increasing attention to the meaning of citizen participation in contemporary American society. While the discussion that follows provides only an overview of the activity in this area, it does indicate to some extent the scope and nature of these investigations.

Before proceeding to the body of the discussion, an introduction is necessary. As we shall see, most attempts to explore the issue of participation in voluntary associations have been motivated by the desire for an explication of the dynamics of participation in associations. Not enought has been done to analyze the implications gained from these studies. The classic dichotomy between the scholar and the change-oriented activist-planner is particularly apparent in the literature reviewed.

While the present discussion makes the same types of distinctions, it is important to note that this effort is only one portion of a larger exploration which will seek to deal with the policy-relevant implications of participation in voluntary associations. More specifically, this larger exploration is aimed at determining the appropriate mechanisms for social change given an understanding of the nature of voluntary associations and community structure. This is especially necessary in designating the direction for changes in programs and strategies aimed at improving the quality of life for black Americans.

Finally, there are areas of voluntary associations and community structure which are scarcely analyzed both in this discussion and in the general literature. These areas are often ones which are not amenable to statistical analysis, thus such factors as individual and societal values, and the substantive content of associations are noticeably absent in most discussions of voluntary associations. Once again, these issues will be explored in subsequent efforts by the author. What follows then is an analysis of the current "state of the art" with respect to the study of associations. It is hoped that from this, other efforts will emerge and be capable of dealing with some of the issues absent in the present literature, as well as those which are not fully explored.

With their evolution from folk to urban orientation and its concomitant industrialization and specialization, human societies have been radically altered. As seen by writers such as Weber (1966), Toennies (1940), Redfield (1960), and Etzioni (1964), this alteration has meant a decrease in affective ties within society, and a general reduction and/or restructuring of the functions of primary groups (Litwak 1961). Bureaucratic organizations have thus become a major component of life in industrialized society. As Etzioni notes:

> We are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and most of us

> spend much of our lives working for organizations. We spend much of our lesiure time paying, playing, and praying in organizations. Most of us will die in an organization, when the time comes for burial, the largest organization of all, the state, must grant official permission.

The presumed efficiency of bureaucracy based on its rational character has been largely responsible for its increased prominence in modern life. Few areas of life are immune to the impact of the organizational society (Etzioni 1964).

Just as bureaucratic organizations have taken over many of the responsibilities formerly held by the family, in areas such as socialization and social control, so has the formal voluntary organization taken precedence in matters of individual linkage to the larger community and society. Similarly, as bureaucratic organizations have become the primary means utilized by this society to regulate the interaction of its members, comparable types of organizations have emerged to protect citizen interests (Rose 1966). For almost every segment of the population, collective action designed to promote the interest of specific groups has become the dominant method of influence.

The American attraction to voluntary associations is as old as the nation itself. Alexix DeTocqueville's classic analysis of America in its infanc was replete with fascination and praise for the widespread utilization of voluntary associations. In his disucssion of associations in America, DeTocqueville states:

> Nothing in my opinion is more deserving of our attention than the intellectual and moral associations of America. The political and industrial associations of that country strike us forcibly: but the others elude our observation, or if we discover them, we understand them imperfectly because we have hardly ever seen anything of the kind. It must be acknowledged, however, that they are necessary to the American people as the former, and perhaps more so (De Tocqueville 1945).

It is important to note here that while voluntary associations do perform an important function in promoting and protecting group interests, their role is not solely limited to that area. Another important function of voluntary associations is that of an integrative mechanism. Voluntary associations represent for many theorists the mechanisms that mitigate against individual isolation and alienation in modern society as well as a means for normative integration of the individual (Babchuck and Edwards 1965). The despair predicted and assumed by critics of mass society to result from urbanization is to a great extent lessened or eliminated by the proliferation of voluntary associations (Babchuck and Edwards 1965).

At least one study has demonstrated the relationship between voluntary association membership and satisfaction with life in general (Phillips 1967). This research effort by Derek Phillips determined that real differences exist between participants and non-participants with regard to self-expressed happiness.

For white ethnic Americans, particularly, voluntary associations have been important forces in their Americanization. Associations have helped to blend the ethnic American into the "melting pot" and at the same time allowed for the maintenance of cultural differences (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). As Glazer and Moynihan note, "the ethnic group is an interest group," thus, ethnic groups have utilized associations to promote and protect their collective interests (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Both as advocate and integrative mechanisms, voluntary associations have been used with great success by white ethnic Americans.

Moving from this discussion of overall function, one can thus categorize voluntary associations as having at least four discrete types of internal functions. On the one hand, there is an integrative or socialization function that attempts to develop group, community, or societal cohesion. Secondly, there is an instrumental or problem-solving function that is directed towards dealing with issues which in some way affect its members and society. Then, there is an expressive or recreational function of associations. The fourth function of associations is, as Gordon and Babchuck indicate "the capacity of an organization to bestow prestige or to be associated with prestige which accrues to its members" (Gordon and Babchuck). This last function has been demonstrated, in several studies, to be a major determinant of the stratification system in a number of urban areas (Hunter 1953, Laumann 1966).

Having briefly reviewed some ideas regarding the importance of voluntary associations in modern life, we now move to the principal focus of this discussion—issues involved in the voluntary associations of black Americans. With the emergence of the concept of black power and its resultant analysis of the plight of blacks in America, black activists have been forced into an even greater reliance upon the use of voluntary associations as a mechanism for collective action. While black power itself has yet to be conceptualized as a unified, generally accepted ideology, the necessity for the large-scale organization of black self-interest associations has been generally affirmed.

Implicit in the contemporary definition of black power is the recognition of the need for restructuring the relationships between blacks and individiuals, blacks as a group and other identifiable groups within society, and between blacks and the society's network of formal organizations and institutions (Boggs 1969). The shift from cries for equality and freedom heard in the late 1950's and early 1960's to the present day efforts to secure self-determination, community control and group cohesion embodies at least a tacit understanding of interorganizational relationships, which are major forces in aiding or impeding social change (Boggs 1969).

Associations, then, represent the major mechanism by which blacks are seeking to deal with institutional America. Generally, the thrust in organizing black associations has been predicated upon the assumption that being black, in itself, is a strong enough force to compel large numbers of blacks to form effective problem-solving associations. These attempts to create viable associations that are representative of the broad spectrum of black Americans have not been successful. The limited success achieved by blacks attempting to establish fund-raising mechanisms in various cities is but one example which highlights the failure of black organizations (Davis).

There have been, however, some major accomplishments made by blacks in emphasizing viable self-improvement. The initial achievements of organizations of black workers in both industrial and service occupations, does offer an example of the potential of self-interest organizations in the 1970's (Cockrel and Hamlin 1970). It is interesting to note that many of the successful efforts of black organizations have been class-oriented, rather than attempts based purely upon racial identity. This fact raises valid questions as to the viability of uniform organizations on the community and neighborhood level.

At the same time, governmental and philanthropic programs designed to improve the quality of life for blacks have also utilized voluntary associations as an essential ingredient in their recipes for individual, community, and societal change. These efforts, also, have experienced serious problems in securing the effective participation of the target population. In a number of evaluations of O.E.O. and Model Cities, the effectiveness of associations established by these programs has been severely questioned (Levitan 1967). Many of these programs have also relied heavily upon neighborhood and/or community-based organizational strategies. In analyzing participation in the community action programs of O.E.O., David Austin notes that, "the potential impact of target area participation is also restricted by inherent limitations of organizing associations on the basis of residential neighborhoods (Austin 1969)."

Despite these condemnations of neighborhood approaches to the organization of voluntary associations, this strategy continues to be the most utilized approach by both black activists and governmental planners. Thus, the question remains as to the feasibility of neighborhood organizing. More specifically, we ask what factors must be considered in attempting to utilize this approach successfully. Thus, what follows is an attempt to clarify some of the major issues involved in utilizing voluntary associations as a mechanism for change. This analysis, while not pretending to be exhaustive, will at least attempt to be systematic. Hopefully, it will help provide some of the appropriate questions that need to be raised regarding black voluntary associations.

Voluntary Participation Among Black Americans

With specific reference to black Americans, there exists in the literature several divergent and apparently contradictory schools of thought. These approaches analyze participation among blacks in comparison and contrast to that generated among white Americans. This method of analysis has been recently attacked as a major factor in limiting our understanding of the sociological processes which operate within black America (Walters 1971). While this issue will be explored in greater detail later in this discussion, it is important to mention here this major drawback of all the studies cited in this section.

One prevalent view of social participation among blacks is that there is a low level of participation in contrast to whites. In a number of studies, an almost amorphous picture of black Americans is presented in which blacks are depicted as having few organizational resources and collective action placing only minimal importance on their communities (Wright and Hyman 1958, Drake and Cayton 1945).

In an effort to discover other predictors of participation, Freeman, Novak, and Reeder were forced to conclude that socio-economic status was still the best predictor of affiliation in their sample. (Freeman, Novak, and Reeder 1957). Thus, by controlling for socio-economic status a better representation of the phenomenon of social participation might be obtained.

Anthony Orum conducted one of the first studies directed toward synthesizing the two contradictory theses by controlling for socio-economic status. (Orum 1966). In studying social and political participation of Blacks and whites in three cities, Orum found that lower class Blacks were more active participants in voluntary associations than their white counterparts, but that middle and upper class whites were more voluntarily active than their Black counterparts.

He concluded that social class was simply not as adequate a factor in predicting participation for Blacks as it is for whites.

Orum's work does validate some of the arguments posited by Myrdal, Frazier, and Hare in that he finds that by controlling for socio-economic status, Blacks are more active than whites; however, he attaches some very different interpretations to this finding. Orum concludes that voluntary associations are major foci in the lives of Black Americans. He says that, "Associations are a means of collective membership for Negroes, whereas they are means of collecting memberships for whites." (Orum 1966).

Orum's thesis, then, contradicts both the underparticipation argument as well as the pathological overparticipation argument. In Orum's view, black participation might be seen as compensatory, in that it is a contemporary response to the historical barriers to social opportunities for blacks, but this is not necessarily pathological. (Olsen 1970). Rather it can be inferred from Orum's analysis that whites are more pathological in their affiliation than blacks.

A replication of Orum's study, by Marvin Olsen, with some modification confirmed this analysis. Olsen controlled for age as well as class and added the dimension of ethnic identity to account for variance within the black sample. (Olsen 1970). While his findings paralleled Orum's, he was also able to validate the notion that persons with strong ethnic identity were more likely to affiliate. Olsen's effort represents one of the few attempts to explain different rates of participation in the black population.

All of the studies mentioned above were efforts to utilize individual characteristics in order to explain social participation. What emerges from this approach still represents a confused picture of black communities as the debate concerning whether blacks are underparticipators or overparticipators has yet to be resolved, and substantial proof of factors which determine participation of blacks has yet to be presented. Most quantitative studies have shown that traditional definitions of social class do not adequately discriminate between black participators and black non-participators. (Olsen 1970). While Olsen's study does give some backing to the belief that the development of black identity does foster increased participation, little support is found elsewhere. This could be an important phenomenon in light of the growth and development of black power and black identity movements. (Pouissant 1968).

A final and important consideration is the determination of the type and level of voluntary associations which are most conducive to the development of a structurally unified black community. By this we mean that simply knowing rates of participation says nothing as to what type of organizations and what level of involvement are most conducive to community problem solving. In Litwak and Meyer's formulation of "the balance theory of coordination between bureaucratic organizations and external primary groups," they observe that with reference to involvement with schools the participation of some communities should be increased, while for other communities participation in school-related activities need to be decreased. (Litwak and Meyer 1966). Similarly, it would seem that some notion as to what constitutes effective participation would have to be presented in order for the mere presentation of participation to be meaningful. Few of the works have dealt with the utility of participation in black context, rather assumptions have been made either that the model of participation existing for white Americans is most valid or that the model advanced by white immigrant groups who have successfully assimilated into mainstream America is the most useful for blacks.

At this point, we turn our attention to some of the issues and problems raised by the studies cited above. It is the intention here to point the direction for a synthesis of previous theoretical orientations and for the development of newer approaches that lead us to a better understanding of the structure and processes extant in black communities.

Previous studies of black participation, as well as ones concerned with participation of all Americans, have primarily focused upon individual characteristics that are correlated with affiliation with voluntary associations. As we have seen, the result in viewing all Americans has been that social class is the primary predictor, while for Blacks the key predictor is still somewhat unclear. Freeman, Novak, and Reeder have called into question the utilization of individual characteristics. (Freeman, Novak and Reeder 1957). While these researchers were unable to find any predictor better than socio-economic status, they did, however, note that even using socio-economic status as a predictor the strength of association is very low. These authors suggest that further study should concern itself with neighborhood and community characteristics as independent variables in an attempt to explain more of the variance. (Freeman, Novak and Reeder 1957).

Logically, it is apparent that individual behavior must be viewed in the context of its environment. One's behavior is not merely a product of individual characteristics such as age, sex, income, etc., but is also influenced by the social forces of the environment. The understanding of voluntary association participation must be enhanced by a look at the influences of community and neighborhood.

In studies by Wright and Hyman, Janowitz and Marvick, and Drake and Cayton, evidence of significant black underparticipation is reported. Wright and Hyman for example found that while 63 percent of white adults belong to no voluntary associations, non-participation among blacks exceeds 73 percent of adults. It is interesting to note that in this study, as well as most others, participation in the church and church-related associations is not considered. Similarly, in comparing black and white samples, no evidence is presented that factors such as socio-economic status or age were controlled.

However, it is generally believed that the existence of this underparticipation can be attributed to the lower socio-economic status of blacks. There is also the belief that blacks simply lack organization experience, verbal and social skills, and other personal qualities which are assumed to be prerequisites to participation. Other factors such as smaller age variation in the black population, alienation and anomie, and general "civic apathy" among blacks have also been considered as causative forces. (Orum 1966).

Given this analysis of participation in black communities, the response with respect to program planning has been the demand for an increase in organizational efforts. Notions of "organizing the unaffiliated" presented by Cloward and Ohlin, Brager, and Piven have at least made a tacit commitment to belief in the validity of the underparticipation thesis. (Cloward and Ohlin 1960, Piven 1966, Brager 1963). Brager, for example, is most explicit in his support for this thesis.

If community oriented organizations are to be successful in their efforts to

> combat social ills they must involve significant numbers of representative lower-class persons. However, as we noted, membership in community organizations is not very common among the lower class.

Brager then goes on to describe a number of strategies designed to make organizational membership "more common" in low-income and black communities. The maximization of social participation through the development of new community associations is the primary mechanism utilized by adherents to the underparticipation thesis. The organization of the unaffiliated black then, is predicated upon the assumption that voluntary associations are important in reducing apathy, fostering individual and group problem-solving, and promoting social integration. Since much of the success of white ethnic Americans has, in part, been attributed to the proliferation of ethnic organizations, it is argued by many that increased black organization will similarly lead to increased assimilation and influence.

A second approach to the issue of black organizational participation has evolved from the belief that blacks are, in fact, "exaggerated Americans." (Myrdal, et. al., 1944). This argument sees blacks attempting to become mainstream Americans by "over doing" those aspects of the larger society that are visible signs of acceptance and assimilation. The early works of Frazier and later works of Hare have attempted to confirm this position. (Frazier 1957).

From this argument it is contended that this mimicry of white Americans has created a situation of hyperactivity with respect to social participation, which is believed to be especially evident in the black middle class. Membership in a variety of clubs and civic organizations is viewed as a major determinant of one's position in the internal stratification system of Black communities. From this view, then, organizations arise within the Black community because of their capacity to confer social prestige and power.

While works of both Frazier and Hare are polemmical in nature, much support for their position can be found in Myrdal's monumental work on the race problem in America. (Myrdal 1944). According to Myrdal, the exclusion of Blacks from American society has been compensated for by their excessive affiliation with voluntary organizations, as was evidenced in his analysis which indicated many Blacks who belonged to a great many voluntary groups. However this type of participation is seen to be dysfunctional in the sense that it tended to separate Blacks from other Blacks. Status groups resulting from this overparticipation were found to be rigid, and thus a severe impediment to Black assimilation.

Moreover, Myrdal saw this overparticipation as dysfunctional in the sense that it tended to further isolate Blacks from mainstream America. He says:

> Membership in their own segregated association does not help Negroes to success in the larger society. The situation must be seen as pathological.

Further evidence for this view of pathological overparticipation is found in a study by Babchuck and Thompson conducted in Lincoln, Nebraska in 1960 (Babchuck and Thompson 1962). These researchers confirmed Myrdal's contention that Blacks were more likely to participate in voluntary associations than whites. "We found this true for Negroes of all social class levels when compared to their white counterparts but it was especially true for lower class Negroes" "(Babchuck and Thompson 1962).

This compensatory overparticipation thesis has also played a role in the development of action strategies. Generally, strategies based upon this analysis have called for the development of racially integrated associations whose goal has been fostering better relations between the races. The integration of civil rights groups of the early 1960's in an example of organization based on this thesis.

A second approach based upon this theory of overparticipation has been especially supported by the works of Frazier and Hare and has called for the total rejection of existing Black organizations. It is suggested that these be replaced by new organizations which do not differentiate among Blacks on the basis of class or prestige. This approach has constituted a major thrust in efforts of Black nationalists in organizing communities. Once again this approach rests upon the assumption that increased Black identity can replace social class and status characteristics as a major factor in promoting association membership.

In an effort to understand the roots of the conflict between the underparticipation and overparticipation arguments, a number of recent studies have attempted to control for those factors that have been proven to be the best predictors of voluntary association participation. This has been made necessary in part by the increasing visibility of Black organizations in that this phenomenon calls into question both the underparticipation and overparticipation theses.

In virtually every study of social participation in America the best predictor of participation in voluntary associations has been socio-economic status. Studies by Warner (1941), Wright and Hyman (1958), Scott (1957), Hausknecht (1962), and Axelrod (1963), have been especially supportive of this contention. Wright and Hyman's national sample shows:

> For example, fully 76 percent of the respondents whose family income falls below 2,000 dollars do not belong to any organizations in contrast to only 48 percent of those whose income is 7,500 dollars or more. Furthermore there is an increase in the percentage of persons who belong to several organizations as social status increases.

One effort to view participation as a product of neighborhood characteristics can be found in a study by Bell and Force of four neighborhoods in San Francisco. (Bell and Force 1956). One of the primary hypotheses of their study was:

> . . . the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood population as a unit may be an important indicator of the socio-economic reference group for those living in the neighborhood, and may define a set of general societal expectations with respect to associational behavior for the residents.

Bell and Force went on to differentiate their four Neighborhoods on the basis of family characteristics, socio-economic status, and age. Race was assumed to be constant in the sense that there were very few non-whites. (Bell and Force 1956).

In this analysis, Bell and Force were able to go beyond individual socio-economic class as the best predictor of participation. In reporting their findings the authors note that:

> . . .the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood population as a

> unit may be an important indicator of the socio-economic reference group for those living in the neighborhood, and may define a set of general societal expectations with respect to associational behavior for the residents.

With tentative confirmation for the thesis that neighborhood characteristics determine to a large extent the voluntary participation, we move next to the consideration of Black neighborhoods. In searching the literature, one is pressed to find efforts to deal with this phenomenon. More generally, little has been done in the way of analyzing the social dynamics of the Black neighborhood itself. As stated earlier, most analysis of Black Americans has proceeded by comparing Blacks with whites. The result has been a failure to appreciate and understand the differences within the Black population.

Billingsley, for example, has decried the fact that most works on the Black family have dealt primarily with the pathological aspects of Black family. (Billingsley 1968). In a severe critique of Moynihan's work, Billingsley specifically makes note of the fact that little work has been done to understand the 75 percent of Black families who can be defined as stable by traditional criteria. (Billingsley 1968).

The work of Jessie Bernard also supports the need for better understanding of the internal structure and processes of the Black population. (Bernard 1966). In her work, Bernard contends that there is no typical Black family. Work, then, is needed to understand a variety of different types rather than continuing to assume that there is in fact a single type of Black American.

James Q. Wilson's work in the area of Black politics is even more explicit in highlighting the differences within the Black population. (Wilson 1960). Wilson found in his study that there is no single model of civic participation, but rather Black communities differ greatly in civic participation on the basis of such factors as size, economics, and racial ecology of the various cities in which they exist. (Wilson 1960). In stating his position, Wilson goes on to say that while there are no simple explanations for the differences among Black communities with regard to participation, "that the vitality of Negro civic life is not necessarily related to the ability to attain race goals, to the magnitude of the problems which confront Negroes, or to the obstacles to progress raised by the white community." (Wilson 1960).

Having reviewed a number of differing approaches to voluntary participation among Blacks, the necessity for synthesis is most obvious. While every method employed is able to account for some portion of the behavior regarding participation, the fragmented approach to factors predicting affiliation is neither logically nor empirically confirmed. Those who have suggested that individual characteristics are the best predictors of affiliation have failed to explain forces which determine participation among Blacks. Similarly, they have failed to explain much of the behavior among whites.

The limited utilization of neighborhood as a determinant of participation leaves cause to question the validity of that concept with respect to Blacks. Logically such an approach appears to hold promise for explaining more of the variance regarding participation in voluntary associations. At the same time, however, it is apparent that the neighborhood approach per se is at best another example of fragmentation.

To understand behavior in the Black community it is first necessary to realize that "from a sociological perspective, Black urban ghettos are structurally complex." (Warren 1967). Black behavior, like the behavior of all Americans, is a product of a myriad of forces acting singly and collectively, sequentially and simultaneously. Such forces then are best understood utilizing a multi-dimensional perspective.

In an effort to meet this requirement of multi-dimensionality, this discussion proposes that voluntary participation can be better explained by viewing it as a product of both individual and neighborhood variables. The studies cited earlier have generally chosen to deal with the phenomenon of participation as either individually determined or determined by characteristics of the individual and/or neighborhood acting separately, but moreover, that participation can be better understood by viewing it as the product of the interaction between the individual and his neighborhood.

Neighborhood As the Location of Participation

The neighborhood has been greatly used as a location for social participation, but continues to be a matter of much controversy in the literature of American social science. While no single definition of neighborhood exists in the literature, one which does seem to be inclusive of the most frequently mentioned characteristics states "that the neighborhood is a small community, characterized by limited area and highly developed face to face relations." (Fairchild 1944).

To suggest that the concept of neighborhood might contribute significantly to the explication of human behavior, directly contradicts a significant portion of the literature regarding the importance of neighborhoods in industrial society. Again, reference is made to the classical theories regarding society's movement from the folk to urban end of the analytic continuum. This movement as seen by many theorists has resulted in a differentiation of interests and thus the neighborhood like all primary groups has lost many of its previous functions. (Litwak 1961).

Similarly it is said that technological advances in transportation and communication have liberated the urban dweller from prior dependence upon his locality. Friendship and common interest associations are seen as no longer the important reference group it once was, and people tend to identify themselves with various interest groups with which they are functionally much more interrelated than with their neighbors." (Warren 1963).

This belief in the demise of the neighborhood as an important social unit is predicated upon the assumption that the neighborhood is exclusively a primary group. This view sees the neighborhood as possessing the face to face, intimate, affective relations which charactertize all gemeinschaft groups. (Warren 1963). It would appear, then, that given the validity of the notion that society has indeed moved away from this gemeinschaft nature of social organization, that the concept of neighborhood and its utility in understanding behavior must be greatly discounted.

Mitigating against a complete dismissal of the neighborhood as a useful concept, is the fact that numerous studies have continued to reveal that the neighborhood is an important force in shaping behavior. Sussman and White, for example, found that anonymity and impersonality believed to be present among people living in the same urban areas, simply did not exist. (Sussman and White 1959). Nearly all of their sample knew at least one neighbor while almost half knew four or more neighbors.

Gans' classic study of Boston's West End offers an important rebuttal to those who declare that the neighborhood is dead as an important concept. (Gans 1962). A similar study by Suttles of neighborhoods occupied by four ethnic groups in Chicago also confirms the thesis that the neighborhood is a living and vital force in the lives of its inhabitants. Suttles says that, "Life in Addams-area is extremely provincial and what goes on a few blocks away hardly affects the daily routine. . . ." (Suttles 1968).

Numerous studies by Litwak and his colleagues continue to support the contention that the neighborhood is an important force in industrial society. (Litwak and Szelenyi 1968). For Litwak, the neighborhood is extremely important in dealing with the issues of socialization and social control as well as mutual aid. These functions alone constitute, for Litwak, reason enough to continue to investigate the role of neighborhood as a determinant and consequence of human behavior. (Litwak 1961, Litwak and Fellin 1963).

A second group of studies which rebut the demise of neighborhood thesis, concern themselves with the importance of neighborhood as a basis for social change. Davies' work in citizen response to urban renewal clearly demonstrates the ability of neighborhoods to resist and reform governmental policies. (Davies 1966). Davies' study is also important in that he is able to elucidate some of the factors which produced the differential success of several neighborhoods in resisting renewal. Clearly his work, like Gans, is testimony to the potential of the neighborhood to be a meaningful entity in times of crisis. (Gans 1962).

Similar studies, particularly in the field of education, offer more credibility to the assertion that the neighborhood remains an important unit of the social organization of industrial society. The belief in the importance of neighborhood in the education of children is shared by large numbers of analysts, activists, planners, and consumers of varied political and social persuasion. For example, both white opponents of school busing and Black advocates of community controlled schools utilize this conviction in the neighborhood as the basis and/or rationale of their positions.

One advocate of community control, Preston Wilcox, notes that the deemphasis of the particularistic concern in favor of universalism has set the stage for the demands for neighborhood and community control of schools.

> The minority group student, thus finds himself in the curious position of being miseducated by a system that represents everybody's interest but his. Such students are ordered to attend school under compulsory education laws seemingly for the express purpose of being convinced of their uneducability. Those Black students who were able to negotiate the schools had to adopt the views of their oppressors. They had to listen to discussions of history that highlighted the honesty of George Washington, but not the fact that he was a slave owner. It is this tendency to deliver generalized white products into specialized Black communities that set the stage for the thrust by Black communities to take control of the schools set up to serve their children (Wilcox 1968).

This tendency has for many analysts resulted in a loss of legitimacy for public education. As Leonard Fein indicates, "community control is no longer seen as merely one way to revitalize a rigid system but as the only way in which the school system can be made legitimate." (Fein 1970). Greater control of the schools by the neighborhood and community is seen as a requisite for educational reform.

Yet another rationale for the necessity of increasing neighborhood and community roles in public education stems from the belief that education which is related and relevant to its immediate locality is much more likely to be effective than that which is highly centralized. Berube, for example, was able to garner from the literature on educational achievement a number of studies which support this contention. In summarizing his findings he says:

> The most recent and pertinent educational research, then, has a common denominator: the importance of the psychological to the learning process. Whether a pupil feels his efforts can influence and control his future—feelings of identity and self-worth—emerges as the prime learning factor . . .
>
> Considered in conjunction with the long list of studies condemning the destructure climate produced by large centralized school systems, these psychological factors constitute a strong case for local control of public schools. (Berube 1968).

Moving from education to more general studies, the case for the neighborhood continues to mount. While admitting that some strengthening of neighborhoods is necessary, James V. Cunningham's analysis still supports the notion that strong neighborhoods are the "basic key(s) to urban vigor." (Cunningham 1965). The maintenance and improvement of neighborhoods are thus seen as primary requisites in improving the quality of urban life. Cunningham then goes on to cite a number of approaches being employed to strengthen urban neighborhoods. His implication is a result more of neglect than any inherent conflict between the neighborhood as a concept and modern society. (Cunningham 1965).

Milton Kotler's support for the concept of neighborhood government closely parallels the work of Cunningham. (Kotler 1970). His approach involves the "establishment of creative federalism within our cities" by transferring much of the decision-making power currently held by city governments to neighborhood corporations. (Kotler 1970). This new federalism is seen as one solution to mounting problems of city government and feelings of powerlessness on the part of many urban dwellers. The neighborhood is suggested as vehicle for increasing citizen involvement in decision making.

Finally, the neighborhood has gained increasing importance in the development of systems to deliver human services. Governmental and privately funded efforts to reduce poverty have all had the neighborhood as a central focus for their efforts. Moguloff's overview of neighborhood service centers highlights this phenomenon.

> It is apparent that the neighborhood center has become an increasingly popular instrument of action in a variety of federally supported efforts. These efforts include programs sponsored by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, O.E.O., the Concerted Services Projects co-sponsored by H.E.W. and H.U.D., the Neighborhood Service Center Pilot Program, the Neighborhood Facilities Program, and the Model Cities program. In addition, some state and local governments have attempted to

bring a wide variety of public and private services together in a common location in neighborhoods where there is great deprivation (Mogulof 1971).

From this brief look at the literature, it appears that from a planning and action perspective the controversy between those who argue that the neighborhood is dead and those who support its continued existence may in fact be a moot debate. As long as efforts of this society to ameliorate or eradicate the social deprivation of its citizens utilize the neighborhood as the target for action, we must continue to concern ourselves with the neighborhood as an entity, if for no other reason than to develop alternative, non-neighborhood based plans and programs. Similarly, as long as some studies continue to affirm the important effects of the neighborhood upon human behavior, further exploration with regard to neighborhood is in order.

It is, however, appropriate to examine the major factors contributing to this controversy. Apparently the controversy surrounding emerges from assumptions regarding the type of relations which exist in the neighborhood. As indicated earlier, those who argue that the neighborhood is no longer important argue that neighborhood is characterized by gemeinschaft relations and as such represents a primary group. At the same time it seems that many who support the notion of the resurgence of the neighborhood seem to be implying that the neighborhood may also embody certain instrumental functions which aid in problem solving. It is clear that one might resolve much of this dispute by admitting that neighborhood is a mixed concept containing elements of both primary and secondary group functions.

In support of this contention, Caplow and Forman characterize the neighborhood as being, "either the smallest of locality groups or as the largest of primary groups" (Caplow and Forman 1950). Given this perspective, it is possible to conclude that the neighborhood is an even more valid concept for study. The potential effect upon human behavior is great and its possible impact upon the central focus of this discussion namely, participation in voluntary association, is an even more compelling reason to utilize the interactive effects of neighborhood and individual.

What must be remembered, however, is that not every small sub-area of the urban space may be considered a neighborhood. As mentioned earlier, the major components of neighborhood involve a small area which can in some way be distinguished from the rest of the environment and has intensive face to face relations. As Gans indicates, these characteristics did not hold for all sections of Boston at the time he studied urban villages (Gans 1962).

Thomlinson adds still another dimension to our definition of neighborhood (Thomlinson 1969). In addition to the requirements of territory or area, and intensive face to face relations, he suggests that persons who occupy this area must also possess some *commonality* other than mere proximity which allows them to be defined as being neighbors.

It is possible to deduce that it is this commonality that provides the necessary linkages among persons who live in the same area which allow for these intensive face to face relations. Thus, one wonders whether in fact neighborhoods studied by Gans and Davies were born out of crisis or could they have been characterized as neighborhoods prior to the emergence of the "common threat"—urban renewal (Gans 1962 and Davies 1966). Gans makes it clear that people of the West End prior to the threat of renewal did not seem to think of their area as a neighborhood (Gans 1962).

It is this commonality of neighbors which appears to be the major factor in determining whether an area can be defined as a neighborhood. Numerous studies have indicated the elements which need to be looked at in determining whether such commonality exists. One effort cited by many analysts as a major work in this area was conducted by Angell. His findings indicate that the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity is the major determinant of social integration in American cities (Angell 1951). Angell found that the greater the homogeneity of persons, with respect to the various statuses they hold, the greater the indices of social integration.

A more recent analysis of neighborhoods tends to confirm this argument. Keller concludes that it is the heterogeneity of the population which yields the impersonalized living assumed by theorists who dispute the value of the neighborhood (Keller 1968). This analysis suggests that status differences within an area produce withdrawal from the locality. Social participation, then, is seen as being focused outside the immediate neighborhood. In analyzing the work of Caplow and Forman, further support for this thesis is obtained (Caplow and Forman 1950). In that they utilized a homogeneous neighborhood and were unable to find any significant degree of impersonality or lack of intensive relations despite high mobility rates, one can infer that homogeneity itself is a strong enough force to produce and maintain neighborliness.

While agreeing with the bases for this argument, Fellin and Litwak suggest that the problem of heterogeneity may not be as great as it appears. They say that:

> This factor may be less valid today owing to the development of mass communication and the enlargement of the middle class stratum in current society. The relevant question in regard to heterogeneity involves the extent to which value differences sometimes make communication between people difficult, differences may also serve complementary needs and lead to cohesion. When values are contradictory and people are polarized along value positions, group cohesion is unlikely. However, extreme polarization of values is not common in our society . . . (Fellin and Litwak 1968).

Gans also notes that heterogeneity per se is not necessarily destined to result in any lack of cohesion or neighborliness (Gans). Heterogeneity on certain characteristics might cement coehsion rather than impede it. The determination of what conditions of heterogeneity lead to cohesion and which do not has yet to be made.

Generally, the issue of heterogeneity has been analyzed along traditional status dimensions. "Among these status differentials are those arising from differences in occupation, level of living, and family composition. The efffects of ethnic, religious and racial differences are equally important, but it is notable that most urban neighborhoods tend toward homogeneity on these factors" (Caplow and Forman 1950). As indicated by the last portion of this quotation as well as an earlier citation from Fellin and Litwak, relatively high degrees of homogeneity are presumed to exist in urban neighborhoods.

Similarly, little work has been done to determine commonalities existing among persons living in predominantly Black sub-areas of the urban space. It appears that most studies assume that poverty and disorganization characterize most Black persons even though the census and other statistics would indicate otherwise (Billingsley 1968 and Bernard 1966). As we noted earlier, Black activists have generally assumed that blackness itself is a force strong enough to lead to group cohesion. Similarly, most research on Black communities and neighborhoods have assumed that homogeneity of race was the single most important factor to be utilized in analyzing behavior and social structure.

The Reality of Black Neighborhoods

Despite assumptions to the contrary, it is clear that predominantly Black areas of the urban space are characterized by a great diversity of inhabitants both within a given area and among various areas. Dubois' classic analysis of Philadelphia at the turn of the century was one of the first studies to capture this diversity (Dubois 1967). Even earlier studies of Blacks in the time of slavery reveal great differences among slaves of given plantations (Franklin 1965). Cleavages on the plantation tended to revolve around the various African origins of slaves as well as the varied statuses occupied on the plantation. Particularly, the differences between household and field slaves were important in determining the startification system among Black slaves. Similarly the degree of acculturation was critical in differentiation of Black slaves (Johnson 1934).

More recent analysis of Blacks in urban areas has also validated this portrait in diversity. Frazier's ecological study of Blacks in Chicago reports that at least two major status groups existed in the ghetto (Drake and Cayton 1945). These groups were seen to be openly antagonistic and major impediments to collective action aimed at changing social conditions. Drake and Cayton's work also corroborates this view particularly with respect to the conflict between status groups (Frazier 1932).

Thus, to analyze the social participation of Blacks from a neighborhood perspective, it is necessary to utilize heterogeneity as a major dimension in differentiating between neighborhoods. From the works of Gerald Suttles and that of Donald Warren, it is possible to deduce at least three types of Black neighborhoods which are likely to exist (Suttles 1968 and Warren 1963). On the one hand there is the neighborhood characterized by widespread diversity in education, income, occupation, and family structure. This type of neighborhood is primarily a product of the historical and contemporary discriminatory practices in housing. Blacks in this type of neighborhood are not there by choice but rather by default in that many who are financially able to afford to live elsewhere were not allowed to rent or buy within other sections of the city (Rose 1971). Thus a situation has emerged where neighbors have little in common other than skin color (Watts, Freeman, et al 1964).

A second type of neighborhood one might expect to find is that which is a product of public housing. It is suggested that these neighborhoods are extremely homogeneous. Homogeneity is so great as to become oppressive (Rainwater 1967). Suttles for example declares:

> In the long term, however, the most important consequence of project living may be the way it restricts most opportunities to achieve a stake in the

prospects of the local community and to develop the kind of leadership and social differentiation that is so critical in forming a stable moral community (Suttles 1968).

A final type of neighborhood believed to exist is the neighborhood of choice. This is the type believed to be normal type in that it is a result of financial ability and individual preference. Increasingly, Black neighborhoods, particularly middle income types, should become neighborhoods of choice, given the acceptance of Black power and Black identity rhetoric (Watts, Freeman, et al 1964). These neighborhoods will, like most white neighborhoods, "take form and evolve as a result of decisions by households to change their place of residence" (Bourne 1971). These areas should be characterized by both a homogeneity of interests and characteristics.

It is argued then, that Black neighborhoods *now* are generally more polarized than white neighborhoods, reflecting more characteristics of either the type one neighborhood or type two neighborhood rather than the neighborhood of choice (Warren 1963). Further it is suggested that this fact plays a major role in influencing the participation of individuals in voluntary associations.

Our review of the literature in the areas of voluntary participation in formal organizations and the role of neighborhood highlights the potential utility of our synthesis. Looking at participation as a product of the interaction of the individual and his or her neighborhood has not, to our knowledge, been attempted in any systematic manner. If in fact the concept of neighborhood necessarily implies a similarity of commonality of residents, it is apparent that our proposed synthesis will shed additional light upon the importance of neighborhood for Blacks.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The most compelling conclusion of this review is the role of social research in the continuing sterotyping of Blacks in America. It appears, for example, that many of the assumptions regarding the extent of participation by Black and low income persons result in part from rather sophisticated sterotypes regarding the lifestyles and behavior of persons who have not "made it" in American society. These stereotypes are congruent with any may be seen as products of social science's great concern with deviance. The focus on deviance and the concomittant emphasis on factors that cause deviance have too often led social scientists to locate the genesis of low achievement within class and racial groupings. Implicit in this approach is the belief that there is something about a racial group rather than the social context in which the group is found that makes for difficulties. Ladner states this phenomenon in the following manner.

> Many books have been written about the Black community but very few have really dealt with the intricate lives of the people who live there. By and large they have attempted to analyze and describe the pathology which allegedly characterizes the lives of its inhabitants while at the same time making its residents responsible for its creation. The unhealthy conditions of the community . . . and the multitude of problems which characterize it have caused social analysts to see these conditions as producing millions of "sick" people, many of who are given few chances to overcome the wretchedness which clouds their existence.

In this light it is easy to understand why two diametrically opposed theories regarding Black participation have continued to exist. To assume that a group of people are deviant prior to investigation, insures that the most scholarly analysis of their behavior will uncover compelling evidence supporting this initial assumption. Clearly committed Black scholars and enlightened others must insist upon non-pathological approaches to analyzing the behavior of Black Americans if we are to cease our roles of accomplices in the systematic oppression of Blacks and other "different" Americans.

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